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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A STUDY OF POWER IN ORGANIZATIONS

by

MARINA ELIZABETH HRINCU

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATION STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled A STUDY OF POWER IN ORGANIZATIONS submitted by MARINA ELIZABETH HRINCU in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Educational Administration.

For Papa and Mamika.

With gratitude and love.

ABSTRACT

The elusiveness of the concept of power prompted this study of power in organizations as it concerns administrators. The exercise of power can be described as being related to four factors: (1) the entities involved in the power relationship - in this study, the entities consist of the administrator and the subordinates(s); (2) the process of exercising power - in this study, the power process reflects the administrator's capacity to exercise power, and is a function of the power relationship; (3) the outcome of the exercise of power - in this study, the outcome consists of changes in the subordinate's behaviour and/or attitudes, necessary to facilitate the organizational goals; and (4) the social context within which power is exercised - in this study, the social context is the organizational setting.

The research procedure undertaken consists of a review and critical analysis of the relevant literature. A philosophical and analytical approach is adopted in drawing implications for administrators from the data. Because the concern in this study focuses on the area of organizational theory, no empirical data is generated to either support or refute conclusions made. Suggestions for further study include ideas for empirical research based upon the conclusions of this thesis.

A clear distinction is made between power and authority, power residing in personal interaction and authority residing in an organizational position. The concept of power proposed here may be stated as follows: power is the administrator's personal ability to

effect change in a subordinate's behaviour and/or attitude, necessary to the accomplishment of the organizational goals; the administrator's ability or capacity to exercise influence is a function of the relationship between himself and the subordinate, and the exercise of this influence occurs in an organization.

The authority vested in an administrator's position is seldom sufficient in managing the responsibility also inherent in that position. It is proposed that responsible acquisition and exercise of power can increase an administrator's base of control beyond the traditional positional authority. Organizational effectiveness is determined by the achievement of organizational goals. The exercise of power can largely determine administrative effectiveness and thereby have a significant impact on organizational effectiveness.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Power is one of the most elusive concepts in the social sciences. Considering that power is an important element in social interaction, the subject of power appears infrequently in the literature. Further, much of the existing literature on power appears to be vague or contradictory.

In his book entitled Power, Bertrand Russell (1938:12) concerns himself throughout with demonstrating that "...the fundamental concept of social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics."

An organization is one of the many social entities in which a study of power in social interaction can be undertaken. The concept of organization adopted in this thesis is that of a group of material and human resources united for the accomplishment of some goal or purpose. The administrator may be regarded as a force or entity in the organization responsible for channeling all efforts and behaviour toward the accomplishment of some organizational purpose. Since educational administration is undertaken in organizations, the study of power is important to the understanding of educational administration.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to review and analyze the concept of power in organizations as it concerns administrators. More specifically the purpose is to conduct a study of personal power which is not to be confused with authority, or as French and Raven refer to it, "legitimate power" or "position power" as Etzioni calls it.

Significance of the Study

Although administrators have some degree of authority inherent in their position, an intelligent, responsible acquisition and exercise of power can increase an administrator's base of control beyond the traditional authority vested in the position held. Organizational effectiveness is determined by the achievement of organizational goals. An administrator dedicated to organizational effectiveness can be an asset to the organization, especially if the administrator operates from a control base extended by his exercise of power.

It is proposed, then, that one significant disclosure in undertaking a study of power in organizations is the way in which an administrator can acquire a wider base of control. Authority and power can be used together to increase administrative effectiveness. The combination of position power or authority, and personal power or simply power, can facilitate both the amount of influence an administrator has over organizational behaviour as well the range of behaviour affected. Also, because the bases of power and authority differ, the number of persons influenced will be greater through the use of both power and authority.

The value of an empirical study is sometimes more readily apparent than the value of a theoretical study in thesis writing. In order to undertake any kind of empirical research a sound hypothesis must be proposed. This hypothesis is derived from many sources, one source being a review of the literature, an analytical and critical examination

of that literature, and a logical and reational argument based upon that examination, leading to some conclusions. In an empirical study those conclusions become researchable hypotheses.

The information gathering process then can be viewed as a circular process. Theoretical research is conducted yielding certain conclusions which become testable hypotheses and are subjected to empirical experiments. From the results of these experiments new hypotheses are generated which require additional theoretical research and so the process continues.

Although this thesis is limited to the theoretical research of the existing literature, the conclusions can serve as implications and hypotheses for further research, both empirical and analytical. Also, as has already been mentioned, little has been written on power in the field of administrative theory. A second reason, significant in undertaking a study of power in organizations as it concerns administrators, is to add to the existing literature on organizational theory. A theoretical study can elucidate the concept of power and its implications for administration and thereby address the organizational concern of effectiveness.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY

The study undertaken in this thesis consists of a review and analysis of the concept of power in organizations as it concerns administrators.

In this chapter the method used to gather, analyze and present the data is outlined. The study is then delineated with respect to delimitations and limitations. Finally, the design of the study is described, consisting of the procedure implemented in presenting the data.

Methodology

The research procedure used in this study consists of a review and critical analysis of the relevant literature. The range of literature dealing with power is somewhat extensive. It was necessary therefore, to concentrate upon studies of power relevant to administrative theory. The bibliography is by no means exhaustive but an attempt was made to draw from relevant sources in the social-psychological, political and related disciplines. The literature review was concluded when the content of the readings became repetitious and redundant.

The volume of the data generated by a review of the literature was limited to an extent manageable in a masters' thesis. Therefore, feasibility is another factor which dictated the dimensions of the literature review.

An assumption made in analyzing the data is that administrative effectiveness is causally related to organizational effectiveness. An intelligent, informed use of power is assumed to facilitate an administrator's effectiveness. An assessment and analysis of the data is based upon the data's contribution to administrative and organizational effectiveness.

A philosophical and analytical approach is adopted in drawing implications for administrators from the data. It must be acknowledged that no empirical data is generated to either support or refute conclusions made. Appraisal of the arguments must be based upon the reader's assessment of the strength and quality of the arguments proposed and the consistency and cohesiveness of the thesis itself.

The presentation of the data is detailed in the "Design" section of this chapter. Generally, the concept of power is presented as it is found in the literature. The individual's relation to power is then examined followed by a study of the nature of power behaviour as it is reflected through the social-psychological notion of perception. The concept of power specifically in organizations is then discussed. Much of the literature presented in these chapters is drawn together in the examination of the dynamices of power.

As the order of the chapters indicate the literature on power is presented beginning with a relatively narrow focus on the concept of power itself and broadens in scope to include the individual and the organization. The reason for the employment of this method of presentation is the difficulty of the concept of power. It is important that the concept of power adopted in this thesis be initially explored and clearly outlined prior to more complicated investigations of power in various conjunctions.

Delimitations

The scope of this study is limited to the concept of power in organizations as it concerns administrators. The distinction between the roles of administrators and managers is an important one.

Litchfield (1956:4-5) identifies three broad functional areas of administration: policy [making], which he defines as a statement of objectives; resource [management], which includes people, money, authority and material; and [decision] execution, which he claims is the integration and synthesis of policy and resources in order to achieve the organizational goals. The role of a manager is to manage resources. Therefore, of the three areas of responsibility of the administrator identified by Litchfield, the second one may be described as the managerial role. The role of an administrator, then, is wider than that of the manager in that it encompasses a wider range of responsibilities.

Because management is the distribution and direction of organizational resources, management may be viewed as one aspect of administration. Power plays an important part in the role of the manger specificially in the directing of human resources. Kotter (1979:1-2) claims that

> Power-oriented behaviour can have an impact on managerial career progress, on job performance, on organizational effectiveness, and on the lives of many people... In light of these basic facts, it is surprising how little has been written on power and management.

Many authors do not make a clear distinction between power and authority. Although the focus of this study is on power, occasional references to authority are made in order to distinguish between the two.

While power may be described as the ability to affect subordinate behaviour in organizations, authority may be described as the right to affect that same behaviour. To use Etzioni's (1961) dichotomy power may be seen as "person power" while authority is "position power."

Cartwright (1965:102) describes the differences between power and authority in the organizational setting.

> Power is seen here as an aspect of an informal social relationship based on the ability of one person to contribute to the gratification or deprivation of another's needs. But authority is an aspect of the formal structure of a group based on the role prescriptions and founded in the norm system of the group.

Every organizational position carries with it some level of authority. However, it is largely the personal element, ability, skill, or capacity to influence another person which is examined in this thesis.

The importance of the relational aspect is stressed in this concept of power because the expression of power is primarilly a function of personal interaction. To be called a power relationship, both entities involved must deem it so. Much can be found in the literature relating to the entity who wields the power, herein called the power holder, but little is written about the equally important entity, herein called the power assenter. This choice of term denotes an active, decisive, deliberate acceptance on the part of the power assenter of the power holder's power. Implied in the interaction is the power assenter's decision regarding legitimation of that power and subsequent acquiescence to it. The power assenter is not viewed as a passive, subservient subordinate but as an active, participant in the power relationship and in that respect also holds some degree of power.

There are many different motives associated with acquiring and utilising power. Although it is acknowledged that some administrators in organizations do seek and exercise power to further their own personal interests, that type of individual is not addressed in this thesis. The assumption is made that the role of the administrator is to undertake the achievement of organizational goals. This thesis, addresses the concept of power where its usage contributes to the achievement of organizational goals.

Limitations

Because of the theoretical approach of this study, the author is constantly conscious of avoiding the problem of researcher bias. Since there is little in the way of determining "rightness" or "wrongness" of the argument except for some discussion with interested parties, personal inclination can affect such things as literature selection, its interpretation and critical evaluation, objectiveness of the argument and conclusions made.

The way in which bias was guarded against, was the deliberate seeking out of dissenting views in the literature review. A balance including both agreeable and dissenting views was attempted and objective consideration given to both.

Because so little research on power has been conducted in the educational administration field, much of the study is compiled from many different disciplines and avenues in the literature. As a result, the researcher has found it necessary to make many "quantum leaps" in the compilation of the data as well as in the implications concluded.

Design

The design of this study is not the usual one adopted in most theses. Because it is largely a review and analysis of the literature, the literature review itself comprises the bulk of this thesis. While most authors of theses undertake a review of the literature in one chapter and the discussion in another, a different method is employed here. The literature review is undertaken in Chapters III to VIII inclusive. Each of these six chapters is divided into four parts: the introduction of the chapter, the literature review, the summary of the literature review and the discussion of the same.

Chapter I is the introduction to the thesis, where the purpose and the significance of the study is outlined. Chapter II contains the approach taken to the study and in it the methodology is outlined, the delimitations and limitations are discussed and the design of the study is explained.

Because it is such a difficult concept to grasp, power is addressed directly in the first two chapters of the literature review, Chapters III and IV. McCarty and Ramsey (1971:xxiii) affirm that "The most problematic aspect of power is determining its structure, not whether it actually exists." Assumed at the outset of this thesis is that power does indeed exist and that the attempt here is to detemine its structure.

Many of the definitions found in the literature are reviewed in Chapter III. The relational aspect of power is examined and the capacity of power is discussed and later reconciled in the power relationship. Finally, some of the various approaches to power are described, concluding with the approach taken in this thesis.

For the purpose of this study four factors important to the exercise of power are identified: (1) the entities or persons involved in the power relationship; (2) the power process or the way in which power is exercised; (3) the outcomes resulting from the exercise of power; and (4) the social context in which the exercise of power occurs. An examination of outcomes is left in the competent hands of the social-psychologists. The main concern of this thesis is the power process. The entities and the social context are both discussed insofar as they lend an understanding to the process.

The entities in the power relationship are discussed in the next two chapters. In Chapter 5, "Power and the Individual", the impulse to power is examined. In discussing the power motive, both the instrumental and intrinsic values of power are considered. The question of certain value theories encouraging the adoption of particular power patterns is also considered.

In Chapter 6 the power holder is examined with reference to self and group perceptions which allegedly influence the exercise of power. This chapter is included because it appears that more attention needs to be given to the subtle, less observable factors which can have an impact on the power process.

The social context of the organization is emphasized in Chapter 7, with specific reference to how power functions in the organizational setting.

In Chapter 8, "The Dynamics of Power", many of the arguments proposed in the earlier chapters are tied together. Although the process of power is largely examined, some reference is also made to the

entities and the social context in the exercise of power. The tactics surrounding the acquisition and use of power in the organizational setting as it concerns administrators is the main consideration in this chapter.

CHAPTER III

CONCEPT OF POWER

In undertaking a study of power, it is necessary, at the outset, to examine the concept as it is reviewed in the literature. In this chapter various definitions of power are examined and specific components of those definitions are highlighted. The relational aspect of power is examined in some detail and discussed relative to the concept of power as an individual capacity. Various approaches to power are examined and a discussion follows which ties together the various sections in order to derive a clearer understanding of the concept of power.

Defining Power

The literature on power is extensive and transcends many academic disciplines. It is understandable, then, that there exists almost as many different definitions of power as there are writers on the topic; and as Dorwin Cartwright points out, the differences are not merely semantic.

As varied as they may be, many of the definitions appear to focus upon one or more of three areas of power: behavioural response by the power assenter, which has been defined as the outcome of the power exercise; the relational aspect of power, denoting that it is a function of both entities in the power relationship; and power as a personal capacity, or ability. Many definitions fall into the first category, possibly because behavioural response is an external, measurable outcome of power and therefore visible to some extent.

Simon (Cartwright, 1959:186) maintains that the assertion 'A has power over B', can be replaced by 'A's behaviour causes B's behaviour'. Similarly, Dahl's (op cit) intuitive idea of power is that the measure of A's power over B is determined by the extent to which A can get B to do something that B would not do otherwise. What these authors are saying is that power can be measured externally in the behavioural change believed to be caused by the exercise of power.

The relational aspect of power is another focus of many definitions found in the literature. Weber (1964:117) defines power as

> ... that opportunity existing within a social relationship which permits one to carry out one's own will even against resistance and regardless of the basis on which this opportunity rests.

Hall (1982:131) also claims that power is relational and that one cannot have power in isolation.

In his defintion, Emerson (op cit) takes the relational aspect one step further and suggests that power resides "implicity in the other's dependency." That is, the two people in a power relationship are mutually dependent upon each other.

Jacobs (1971:216) writes that one of the essential features of power is "...that power is an aspect of a relationship between two people, not an attribute of a given person." Similarly, Wolfe (1975:100) defines power as a social relationship and not a personal attribute. The source or the basis of power is found in both entities in the social relationship, or in the interaction between the two.

All of these definitions support the idea that power is a function of both the power holder and the power assenter. Although this point is discussed in greater detail in the discussion portion of this chapter, it should be noted here that both Jacobs and Wolfe specifically declare that power is not a personal attribute of the power holder.

The third area of power attended to in many definitions found in the literature is that of personal ability or capacity. Metcalf and Urwick (1965:100) claim that if unhindered, "...power is a self-developing capacity." Bertrand Russell (1938:12) views power as the

According to Blau (1976:116) power is "...the ability of persons or groups to impose their will on others despite resistance." Tawney (op cit) defines power as the capacity of an individual to modify the behaviour of other individuals in the manner he/she desires. This combines both the behavioural response and relational aspect of power, as does Russell's definition.

Similarly, Kotter (1979:1) suggests that

> Power is a measure of a person's potential to get others to do what he or she wants them to do, as well as to avoid being forced by others to do what he or she does not want to do.

Kotter qualifies his definition with the understanding that the direction of power must be only one way, with no influence being reversed. Here, mention is made again of the outcome of the power exercise.

In the Compact Edition of the Oxford Dictionary, (Vol. II, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 1213), power is defined as: the ability to do or effect something; to act upon a person or thing; a particular faculty of body or mind; the active principle of producing some effect. According to the above definitions, power resides in the power holder in the form of some capacity or ability, which would appear to contradict the relational aspect of power. This point will be considered in the discussion section of this chapter.

Two additional definitions draw the reader's attention to two other areas of power not yet mentioned; these are, the process of the power exercise, and internalization resulting from that process.

While there are many definitions of power which focus on behavioural response as an outcome of the exercise of power, few focus on the process.

Bierstedt (Wrong, 1979:21) defines power simply as the ability to employ force or sanctions, not their actual employment. He is drawing the reader's attention to the dispositional nature of power here, an idea which is discussed at length in a later chapter.

Lasswell and Kaplan (Cartwright, 1975:186) define power as a special exercise of influence where, by the use of actual or threatened deprivations for nonconformity, one undertakes the process of affecting the policies of others. While Lasswell and Kaplan attend to the process of power they also introduce the notion of internalization, policy change requiring more than behavioural response on the part of the power assenter. To make a policy change an individual has to be convinced that the change should be embraced by him not only now but also in the future. This requires a change in his belief system. Thus, the policy becomes internalized.

The Power Relationship

Upon a reader's initial exposure to the bulk of literature written in the area of power, it would seem that two camps exist regarding whether power is the function of a relationship or whether it resides in the power holder. In this section and the next the background for this discussion is developed and some conclusions are drawn in the discussion section of this chapter. Also, some of the many elements involved in a power relationship are examined, including various authors' descriptions of a power relationship.

Bachrach and Baratz (1969:101) maintain that "...power is relational, as opposed to possessive or substantive." Therefore, one cannot accurately say that X "has power" or that Y "is power" - it is neither a possession nor a property of a person or group. "...one cannot have power in a vacuum, but only in relation to someone else."

Power is a kind of agreement then. It resides in the subordinate as well as the administrator in that the former legitimizes or recognizes the power. Similarly, Kahn and Boulding maintain that a certain amount of "genuine," not coerced consent, has to be given to the power holder by the power assenter for the power relationship to be effective. What these writers are saying is that there cannot be leaders without followers. Power exists because both entities recognize and legitimize it - it originates from two sources.

Although the cooperational element is apparent in the interactive process Jacobs (1971:216) cautions his readers with a basic postulate

contained in most theoretical frameworks of power - "...there are costs associated with the use of power apparently derived from two sources." The first cost, compliance in the face of exercised power, has a negative value in this culture, contends Jacobs, because it is based on the concept of coercion. The second cost stems from the power differential between those holding, and not holding power. The greater the extent of the power differential, the greater the likelihood that the person with power may unintentionally damage the other person holding less or no power. Either of these elements may cause anxiety in the power assenter, which may lead to resentment and resistance, resulting in an attempt to: reduce the power differential; seek approval on some other basis; or withdraw from the relationship.

Bachrach and Baratz (Ibid:102) describe the power relationship in more technical terms.

> A power relationship exists when (a) there is a conflict over values or course of action between A and B; (b) B complies with A's wishes; and (c) he does so because he is fearful that A will deprive him of a value or values which he, B, regards more highly than those which would have been achieved by non-compliance.

Wolfe (Ibid:101) also lays out a scenario of a power relationship.

> Two conditions are necessary for O to have power over P: (a) P must have needs or goals which he feels can be satisfied or attained with the help of another's resources but not without such help, and (b) P must perceive O as having resources which might be made available to him. O's power over P is based on potential rewards when P perceives that O has resources that P needs, desires, or values, or which have a positive utility for P. It is based on potential punishments when P perceives that O might actualize resources which are negatively valent for P, or which have a negative utility with respect to P's needs, desires, or goals.

Wolfe (Ibid:100) introduces an element of flexibility into the power relationship: "Power is a concept of potential behaviour in a social relationship, and allows for variation from one behavioural region to another from time to time." That is to say that a power relationship is not a static concept, nor is it restricted temporally or regionally. Because it is 'potential behaviour', according to Wolfe, power can change hands depending on the time or situation. As Wolfe (op cit) explains, "Inherent in this approach is the fact that the power of O over P and the power of P over O are conceptually independent of each other." Here Wolfe introduces power as an independent variable.

Mills (1963:8) describes a similar position. He views power as "...the capacity to make and to carry out decisions even if others resist" and holds that it "...functions as an independent social variable."

Simon (Bell, 1969:72) alternatively, recognizes that the influence of an element can either be (1) independent, with all the reverse feedback relations ignored, or (2) the net influence, with all the reciprocal influences of other elements upon it. In other words, the power which P has over O may affect the outcome of an exercise of power over P by O.

In the power relationship, the costs associated with the relational aspect is a factor which an administrator may wish to consider in defining the dimensions of his power relationships in the organization. According to the writers cited above, the administrator will not be

alone in defining these dimensions because power is a function of the interaction between two entities and not a personal quality or characteristic. The dimensions of power are discussed in the following chapter.

Power: The Capacity

This section deals with a notion of power which Metcalf and Urwick call "genuine power". The concept of power as a skill or a capacity is one which has been addressed by several authors. Some of these authors have been examined. Others require closer attention. A fairly lengthly discourse by Wrong (1979:1) is presented here to open the discussion.

> The most general use of the word 'power' in English is as a synonym for capacity, skill, or talent. This use encompasses the capacity to engage in certain kinds of performance, or 'skill' in the strict sense, the capacity to produce an effect of some sort on the external world, and the physical or psychological energies underlying any and all human performances - the 'power to act' itself, as it were.
> ... Applied in this sense to human energies, power is equated with potency, or an actor's general ability to produce successful performances.
> The notion of controlling or acting on resistant materials is implicit in the idea of power as skill or capacity. Some writers have equated power in this general sense with mastery, or with the ability 'to produce observed modifications in the external world'.

Inherent then in the concept of power as a capacity or skill is the external, observable outcome which indicates the effectiveness of that skill. The power holder, or actor as Wrong calls him, must be aware in striving for external compliance that he does not undermine the desirable response of internalization, or policy change, as Lasswell and Kaplan refer to it. More attention will be given to this idea in a later chapter.

According to Metcalf and Urwick (1965:109), one can confer authority but not power. Power cannot be delegated because "genuine power is capacity." It cannot be conferred because "...power is the blossoming of experience." "Power is not a pre-existing thing which can be handed out to someone or wrenched from someone", maintain Metcalf and Urwick (Ibid:111).

Although Metcalf and Urwick (Ibid:113) do not actually define what they refer to as "genuine power," they describe its "natural" development with the following illustration: "The instinct for workmanship," where at one time was expressed in the individual's own work, is now expressed in group production, the individual having management input regarding group organization and the production technique. Where "genuine power" used to be a solitary capacity it is now reflected in the organizational setting as a group effort. As Metcalf and Urwick describe it (op cit)

> ...if we have any power, any genuine power, let us hold on to it, let us not give it away. We could not anyway if we wanted to. We can confer authority, but power or capacity, no man can give or take. The manager cannot share his power with division superintendent or foreman or workman, but he can give them opportunities for developing their power.

According to Metcalf and Urwick, "genuine power" is accompanied by, or reflected in a sense of pride or accomplishment in one's production. The implications drawn by Metcalf and Urwick for an organizational setting appear to follow naturally from this point. These authors suggest that power can be described as an active, mental capacity, an ability or faculty. According to this description power is more a personal capacity than a positional attribute, as is authority.

Wrong (Ibid:2) cautions his readers to be aware that "The sociological concept of power must not imply that it is an attribute of an actor rather than a relation between actors, whether individuals or groups." The distinction between an attribute and a capacity is an important one. An attribute is a personal quality, property or characteristic and may exist independently of any external influence. A capacity is an ability, faculty, talent, skill, which can be cultivated or developed and thereby influenced by external forces.

Relevant to both the relational aspect of power and the concept of power as a capacity is the social context of the interaction, an area of power which has been found in many of the definitions of power already discussed. It has been stated by many authors that one cannot have power in isolation - the manifestation of personal power is in social interaction.

Social interaction can occur in any type or size of social setting, ranging from a small family unit to a formalized multi-conglomerate corporation. The question arises whether the concept of power differs according to the the type of social interaction. Cartwright (1965:183) holds that

> No categorical distinction between 'large' and 'small' social entities can be maintained; such concepts as influence, power, and authority (or their equivalents) must be employed in any adequate treatment of social interaction wherever it may take place.

Cartwright (Ibid:183-84) explains that

> Although there are undeniably important differences between large, enduring social institutions and more temporary relationships within smaller social entities, it does not follow that a single set of theortical constructs is inappropriate for

> treating both. On the contrary, developments within social psychology and within the disciplines concerned with institutions are combining to strengthen the belief that the same concepts should be employed by both.

Organizations are social institutions and by their very nature have many basic characteristics in common, whether they be family units or government bureaucracies. It follows from Cartwright's argument that one theoretical construct of power could explain power behaviour in any organizational setting.

While some authors deem that variety in organizational types requires variety in constructs of power, others, as Cartwright notes, deem that the theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of power justify various power constructs. Cartwright (Ibid:185) makes the comment that

> It is an unfortunate fact that the separation of work into 'pure theory' and 'brute empiricism' has plagued the study of power perhaps more seriously than any other field of investigation. Work of either extreme sort is no longer of much value.

The topic of power has such a wide scope that both types of research are necessary in developing a useful construct of power. Also, since much study is undertaken in the areas of organizational behaviour as well as administrative theory the integration of theoretical and empirical research is necessary to a comprehensive understanding of power in organizations as it concerns administrators.

In summary, the concept of power as a capacity is well documented in the literature, although it appears to require some reconciliation with the relational aspect of power, since refutation of either aspect could be difficult. The idea that power occurs in social interaction

is another key concept favoured by many writers in the area of power, whether they focus on the relational aspect of power or the idea of power as a capacity.

Approaches To Power

The word 'power' conjures up many different impressions in people's minds, a large number of them negative in nature. The exercise of power is a definitional function of leadership. Although most people would acknowledge that leadership is a natural and necessary feature of any organization, evidence found in the literature indicates that some still balk at the idea of one person exercising power over another. Kotter quotes (1979:1) Zaleznik and de Vries who write,

> 'Power' is an ugly word. It connotes dominance and submission, control and acquiescence, one man's will at the expense of another man's self-esteem...Yet it is power, the ability to control and influence others, that provides the basis for the direction of organizations and for the attainment of social goals. Leadership is the exercise of power.'

Although Zaleznik and de Vries hold a negative view of power, they admit to its usefulness and necessity in an organization.

Blau (1976:xv) defines power as "control through negative sanctions." Associating power solely with the idea of punishment can be uncomfortable and cause people to avoid the whole process of power.

Kotter (Ibid:3) claims that Charles Reich reflects the views of many in arguing that "'It is not the misuse of power that is evil; the very existence of power is evil'." Kotter reports that even recent studies, indicate the negative feelings many people have regarding power. Harvard psychologist, David C. McClelland, has observed that in American Society in general, people are proud of having high achievement needs but do not like to be told that they have a high need for power. Kotter (op cit) explains that "People often associate power with exploitation and corruption. They tend to distrust people who openly seek power."

Although some like Reich hold it in contempt, believing that power is an evil, uncontrollable force, others hold the view that power can be a useful tool in the hands of the responsible power holder. Winter (1973:xviii) acknowledges the usefulness of power but adds a warning, wary that its exercise could lead to destruction. "Power is like fire: it can do useful things; it can be fun to play with and watch; but it must be constantly guarded and trimmed back, lest it burn and destroy." Winter does maintain, however, that power is neither the essence of 'nourishment' as Nietzche held nor 'poison' as Henry Adams believed. He proposes that power lies somewhere in between the two extremes.

Kotter describes power as both fascinating and repulsing at the same time. As Kotter (Ibid:5) writes,

> Ambivalent attitudes toward power, together with the lack of useful information about power and management, breed both naive and cynical beliefs about what effective and successful managers do. These beliefs can be very costly in both career problems and organizational problems.

Education can encourage and develop beliefs based upon knowledge and sound leadership theory, a process which could benefit both the individual concerned, in terms of enlightenment and myth exposure, as well as the organization, in terms of effectiveness.

Summary and Discussion

There are many different definitions of power to be found in the literature, but most appear to focus largely on one of three areas of power: behavioural response, the relational aspect of power or the concept of power as a capacity.

The power relationship relies on the cooperation and interaction between both the power holder and the power assenter. The recognition must be made that change in temporal and spatial relations can also lead to important changes in the power relationship, such as the direction of the power. Certain conditions must be met before a power relationship can develop, such as legitimation of the power by the power assenter. Others will be discussed at length in later chapters.

The concept of power as a capacity has certain implications for organizations. A skill that can be learned and practised is a skill that can have an impact on organizational effectiveness. The fundamental similarities in all types of organizations lend themselves to one construct of power that is relevant to all organizations alike.

Negative approaches to power can still be found in the literature. Informed approaches to power are what is needed for progressive research in this area.

Defining power is a difficult task. To describe behaviour solely in terms of behavioural response is both simplistic and naive. Behavioural explanations do not take into account such important factors as motivation, internalization and other non-observable indicators, which are important in determining the possible effects of power.

Another criticism of the purely behavioural measure of power's implementation is that causality is extremely difficult to prove. The most that can be hoped for is a high degree of correlation between what appears to be cause and effect.

As many writers have claimed, the study of power in isolation is meaningless. The power process necessarily occurs in some social context and, in order to understand the process, an understanding must be had of the context. The study of one to the exclusion of the other will not yield a comprehensive picture. Four factors related to the exercise of power are: the entities, the means or process, the ends and the social context. Although special attention is given to the social context, in this study being the organization, the focus of this thesis is on the process. This approach may help to balance the scales a little as the bulk of literature appears to concentrate largely on the dramatic outcomes of the exercise of power rather than the other less obvious components.

In many theories of power, the subordinate in the power situation is portrayed as a helpless underdog who is coerced and manipulated into submission. It is proposed here that there is a conscious decision made by the subordinate to assent to the power holder. This decision involves recognition or legitimation of the power base and acquiescence to the will of the power holder in exchange for some value whether it be the acquisition of a reward or the avoidance of a punishment. This idea is crucial to the social interaction and determines, to a large extent, the nature of that relationship. The concept of assenting to power is necessary for both entities in the power relationship to maintain a realistic perspective of the situation.

Although the concept of power as a capacity appears to contradict the relational aspect of the power relationship, the contradiction appears to be reconcilable. Metcalf and Urwicks's notion of power as a capacity can be interpreted in the following way: the exercise of power is a skill which can be carried out effectively or ineffectively, as any skill. Also, as any skill, it can be studied, improved and practised until it is done with precision. The capacity Metcalf and Urwick refer to, may be seen as the capacity to exercise power. That skill cannot be delegated but each manager must develop it for himself. Another power holder or even a subordinate can contribute to this development by providing conditions favourable to the cultivation of this skill. It is, however, ultimately an individual's own responsibility to become an effective power holder.

The concept of the power assenter is also helpful in understanding the status of power because it suggests that both entities have some degree of control of the power and that it is not an evil, uncontrollable force. Power can be seen as an inanimate social tool whose value ascription depends wholly upon the way in which it is used or misused. In essence, merit could be ascribed to the user since the user determines its use or misuse. In determining the nature of a power exchange, not only can the outcomes be examined but also the motives and intentions of the power holder.

Whether one approaches power as a theoretical or 'empirical problem', as Clark in his book Pathos of Power maintains (his concept of power is evident in the title), or even as a pertinent issue instead

of a problem, all approaches yield some contribution to an understanding of power. Power has many faces but only one essence, substance, entity or nature, and is common across all disciplines. As Mills (1973:9) maintains, "The forms of power vary, the fact of power remains a constant."

CHAPTER IV

THE DIMENSIONS OF POWER

In this chapter ways of understanding power are examined - it is an analysis of power defined by its dimensions. Four aspects or attributes of power are presented as a way of ordering power. The bases of power are then discussed, followed by an analysis of the forms of power.

The intention in this chapter is to familiarize the reader with the elements which define the extents or dimensions of power. The dimensions of power largely dictate the nature of the power relationship.

Attributes of Power

In this section the attributes of power, as Wrong refers to them, or the aspects of power, as Kaplan calls them are outlined. They are characteristics, properties or parts of power.

Kaplan (Kahn and Boulding, 1964:16) identifies four aspects or attributes of power:

1. Weight- how much influence A has over B;
2. Domain- range of persons influenced;
3. Scope - range of stimuli and corresponding responses affected by the person exercising power;
4. Bases - how A influences B [or how A is able to influence B].

In discussing the nature of effects produced by power, Wrong outlines three attributes of "power relations" which closely parallel Kaplan's aspects of power: the extensiveness of the power (similar to Kaplan's 'domain'); the comprehensiveness (Kaplan's 'scope'); and the intensiveness of the power (Kaplan's 'weight'). A power holder may or may not consciously order any one of these, but all the effects he produces will be ordered by all of these dimensions in varying degrees.

A cursory glance over these attributes might yield a leaning toward the importance of extensiveness over the others. Wrong (Ibid:20) briefly discusses the naivete of this assumption. He maintains that there are three main reasons why greater extensiveness in a power relation limits comprehensiveness and intensity. First, because there is a wider span of control and therefore more subordinates to oversee, there is difficulty in supervising all the activities. Second,

the greater the number of subordinates, the more extended and differentiated the chain of command necessary to control them. Such situations could result in new nexes of subordinates whose power may be played off against each other and could become a source of opposition to the power holder. Third, the greater the number of subordinates, the greater the chances of wide variation in their attitudes toward the power holder. Since the power holder will not be able to wield power with equal comprehensiveness and intensity over every subordinate, it will be necessary to assess the amount and the kinds of power to exercise, in order to ensure compliance in each individual.

Bases of Power

The source of power, which is the relationship between the power holder and the power assenter, is known as the base of power. In theory a relationship is usually described as grounded in only one base of power. In a real situation a number of power bases may exist concurrently.

Five bases of power are identified here as types of power: reward power, based on the mediation of rewards; coercive power, based on the mediation of punishments; legitimate power, based on the power holder's right; referent power based on identification with the power holder; and expert power, which is based on the power holder's knowledge or expertness. It is interesting to note that the strength of each base of power is partly determined by the degree to which the power assenter perceives that power base to exist. This situation is particularly evident in the organizational setting where interaction is more structured.

Jacobs (Ibid:224-225) outlines in greater detail French and Raven's taxonomy of power types and discusses the consequences of each.
(1) Reward Power - "This dervies from the capacity of one person to provide desired outcomes to another in exchange for compliance with desired behavior."

The outcome of this power is the likeability of the administrator by the subordinate and the fact that less surveillance is required of the latter. This may be a costly type of power to use depending on the reward offered and it may result only in compliance rather than attitute change.

(2) Coercive Power - "In contrast to reward power, this consists of the capacity to inflict negative outcomes on another person, and compliance is a means for avoiding or escaping these negative outcomes."

This type of power induces greater resistance, and therefore requires greater surveillance to ensure compliance. Attitude change cannot be expected with the use of coercive power. The subordinate may come to view the administrator in a hostile manner, and be motivated to end the relationship. Although use of coercive power in a power relationship, may enhance the user's self-esteem, it precludes the use of referent power in that relationship. Conformity may increase with degree of punishment, but the likeability of the punisher will decrease considerably.

(3) Legitimate Power - "Legitimate power results when the less powerful person believes that he 'ought' to comply." It rests on group norms and expected role behaviour, and in this way is restricted to a specific domain.

Little surveillance is required with the use of legitimate power but the user must behave in accordance with his position to be effective. The casual element introduced by socializing, for example, can undermine an administrator's legitimacy. The effectiveness of legitimate power is maintained through conduct consistent at all times with the office.

Although legitimate power is designated as a form of power by French and Raven, legitimate power is defined as authority in this thesis.

(4) Referent Power - "The basis for referent power is a sufficiently high attractiveness of the power figure so that the less powerful person identifies with him and wishes to please him by seeking to comply with his wishes."

This type of power does not require observation, and may, in fact, be in effect whether or not the power holder is aware of it; i.e., the charismatic quality in the leader who "inspires" followers to comply. Also, internalization of compliance is likely to result. The user is again restricted to a limited domain and a distinct separation in status is required for effectiveness. The use of referent power is subject to the "sleeper effect", where power reduces over time because after the initial impressiveness of the power holder wears off, the attractiveness may also diminish.

(5) Expert Power - "This is a function of the less powerful person's judgement that the other person has knowledge or ability that exceeds his own in the area in question."

This type of power is likely to produce compliance without supervision "...in direct proportion to the strength of the belief that he is in fact an expert." For this type of power to be effective the subordinate must be motivated to attain the goals in that area of expertness. In this way, expert power is limited to that domain. Internalization of compliance is likely.

A sixth type of power, not mentioned by French and Raven, is informational power. This exists where an individual has unique information regarding a certain incident. Once the information is given, the power ceases to exist.

Informational power and expert power may appear very similar at first. However, not only do they differ in terms of duration, the former is a "one-shot deal" while the latter is an ongoing capacity, they also differ qualitatively. The type of information possessed by the informational power holder is gained by having been in the 'right place at the right time'. What the expert power holder possesses, however, would not be labelled information but knowledge, generally understood to have been acquired through some effort or talent on his part. In addition to the element of duration there is a substantiative difference between these two power bases.

Different types of power are used in different ways and at different times depending on many factors. Some of these factors include the entities involved in the power relationship, the situational context, the costs, the expected effects, the desired effects, and the resources which the power holder has at his disposal.

The Forms of Power

A form of power denotes the way in which power is exerted and the method or procedure that is used to gain compliance.

Wrong (Ibid:25) explains that the

> classifications of the different forms of power...stress the differing motivators of the power subject in complying with the intention, whatever the motives underlying it, of the power holder.

In other words, understanding forms of power is a prerequisite to understanding what causes X to comply or the reasons or motives X holds in complying. This understanding is useful for the administrator because knowing the 'why' facilitates in learning the 'how' in the exercise of power.

Wrong (Ibid:26) differentiates between what he calls four distinct forms of power: force, manipulation, authority and persuasion.

1. Force

Coercion emcompasses both the threat and the actual application of force. Power based on force is often called "naked power." Here Wrong also makes reference to psychological force such as brainwashing or emotional pressure.

Hannah Arendt (op cit) maintains that

> 'Power and violence are opposites; where one rules absolutely, the other is absent. Violence appears where power is in jeopardy, but left to its own course it ends in power's disappearance'.

Rather than opposites, power and violence could be viewed as mutually exclusive. It would seem that if an individual has to resort to violence to ensure compliance then the exercise of power has become ineffectual. Wrong (Ibid:88) concurs, maintaining that "...resort to violence is evidence to the failure of power ... force is the final recourse of the power holder."

2. Manipulation

According to Wrong (Ibid:28), "When the power holder conceals his intent from the power subject - that is, the intended effect he wishes to produce, he is attempting to manipulate the latter." He cites propaganda from the media as an example of manipulation but one might question this case and argue that a consumer is cognizant that an advertiser is ultimately trying to sell him a product, a line or an idea. According to Wrong's definition of manipulation, it could also be used simultaneously in conjunction with another form of power.

On the topic of the intentionality of power, Wrong (Ibid:4) maintains that "Power is identical with intended and effective influence." Wrong (op cit) holds that power is intentional, deliberate and causal. He acknowledges that "Intentional efforts to influence others often produce unintended as well as intended effects on their behaviour."

Dahl and Lindblom (op cit) label such unintended influences as "spontaneous field control" and distinguish it from other forms of deliberate control. A distinction must be made between the intentional and unintentional effects of power. "...an adequate definition of power cannot ignore the difference between intended and unintended but foreseen effects." Both kinds of effects result from the effectiveness of the power exerted, but responsibility is connected to motive and intention, as well as to the external outcomes.

3. Authority

Of all the kinds of influence, authority is probably the most widely known. Many people are familiar with it because they experience it directly, on a daily basis, in the organizations for which they work.

Wrong (Ibid:35) defines authority simply as "...successful ordering or forbidding." Herbert A. Simon (Hoy and Miskel, 1978:49) elaborates, introducing two criteria of authority which are crucial to the examination of power relationships based on this form of power: voluntary compliance to legitimate commands and the suspension of one's own criteria for making decisions in compliance with an organizational command. Hall (1982:133) also mentions that authority requires a suspension of the power assenter's judgement.

He adds that "Directives or orders are followed because it is believed that they ought to be followed. Compliance is voluntary." Blau and Scott add another criterion of authority - the requirement for a common system of norms among the organizational members, which is a way of legitimizing the power relationship.

It must be noted again that although Wrong considers authority to be a form of power, this thesis contends that power and authority are qualitatively different and that authority is not considered a form of power but a separate entity altogether.

4. Persuasion

The art of persuasion is convincing another person of something which they would not otherwise have been convinced. Wrong describes successful persuasion as the presenting of arguments, appeals or exhortations to B, and B, after independently evaluating their content in light of his own values and goals, accepts the communication as the basis of his own behaviour. Persuasion is often not observed as a form of power at all. Wrong (Ibid:32) points out that "Formally, it lacks the asymmetry of power relations." It resembles the reciprocity which is, as Wrong (op cit) observes, "...the essential feature of communicative interaction in its generic form." Arendt (op cit) states a similar

case: "'Where arguments are used, authority is left in abeyance. Against the egalitarian order of persuasion stands the authoritarian order which is always hierarchial'."

This distinction has important implications in an organizational setting. Theoretically, an administrator's authority should suffice in eliciting a desired response in the subordinate, which is the authoritarian order, as Wrong has pointed out. Internalization is also desirable however, and authority may not be the approporiate form of influence to elicit that particular response. Persuasion might be necessary in this situation and in this way, authority and persuasion can work together, one eliciting the external behaviour and the other, the internal acquiescence.

Although authority and persuasion can augment each other one can also detract from the other. If an administrator, for example, used persuasion in a situation where the exercise of authority would suffice, the subordinate might question this use of persuasion and the reasons for the administrator having deemed it it necessary and may conclude that the administrator did not feel that his authority was sufficient in that situation. The subordinate may adopt the same idea, and come to expect persuasion in future communications related to similar circumstances. Over time, this persuasion would have the tendency to erode the administrator's base of authority.

Inducement is similar to persuasion in that there is some degree of convincing involved, except that it is abetted by external rewards. A possible problem arising in offering definite rewards in exchange for compliance, warns Anthony Giddens (1977), is that the chance always exists that the withholding of a reward may come to be seen as punishment and therefore as coercion.

Wrong (Ibid:97-98) points out that the significance of persuasion as a form of influence, grows with the growing complexity of society. Bass (1960:221) distinguishes between persuasion, which he says is ability, and coercion, which he calls power. "Both power and ability, both persuasive and coercive leadership, belong in the overall study of the way we interact and influence each other."

Although one could question Bass's dichotomy between 'ability' and 'power', power encompassing both notions of ability or persuasion, and coercion; he makes the important distinction between persuasion and coercion; as techniques of leadership. Wrong (Ibid:88) claims that one can rapidly agree with E.V. Walter's conclusion that "'The most useful concept of power would

not exclude from its domain either persuasion or coercion, nor would it consider either authority or violence to be more essential or ultimate'."

The effective administrator does not ignore or neglect "...the interaction and mutual influence between legitimacy [authority] and coercion [power] in stable power relations," claims Wrong (Ibid:89). Both exist side by side in an organization and can benefit each other, by working together. An administrator is seen as an individual as well as a position figure and therefore, exercises power and authority simulataneously.

Polanyi (1958) argues the extreme case for the fear relationship. He maintains that power does not require voluntary support to be exercised. Fear of punishment is sufficient to maintain control. In a large group, if a member believes that all the others will obey the commands and even punish his disobedience, he will be more likely to comply. An atmosphere of mistrust would be created among the members so that none would feel free to express negative feelings about the group leader. As the size of the group increases, argues Polanyi, so would the stability of such naked power. In this respect, control over large groups is easier than over small ones.

Wrong (Ibid:71) points out that, in the exercise of power,

> ...a stable power relation of some comprehensiveness and intensity is rarely based on a single form of power. [Rather, it is] ...to the advantage of the power holder to extend and diversify the forms of power he exercises over a given power subject.

The administrator could then control a wider range of the subordinate's activities. Also, when one form of power may not be effective, another form might.

It is one thing to examine the forms of power in theory, each distinct from the other, and quite another thing to examine them in the light that situational factors would cast. Although 'pure' examples of the forms of power can be found in the real world, they hardly represent the majority of cases. More often power relations are mixtures because forms of power are dependent upon motivation and human motivation can vary quite widely.

Kaplan (Kahn and Boulding, 1964:16) summaries:

> ... when we have specified what scope this power has, on what base it rests, over what domain and with what weight it is exercised - then we can say that we have described a distinctive forms of power.

Summary and Discussion

Four attributes or aspects of power were examined in this chapter: weight, domain, scope and base of power. Six bases of power were identified, the first five of them taken from French and Raven's (Cartwright, 1965) taxonomy of power types: reward power, coercive power, legitimate power (which is defined as authority rather than a power type in this thesis), referent power and expert power. A sixth form of power was identified as informational power. Finally, four forms of power in the literature were found to be force, manipulation, authority (again, not considered a form of power by its definition in this thesis) and persuasion.

Many authors have considered the inspiration of love or fear in a power assenter by a power holder. Both Machiaveli and Etzioni contend that it is best to be both loved and feared as a leader but if only one can be had, then love, suggests Machiavelli (Hersey and Blanchard, 1972:92) "...tends to be volatile, short run and easily terminated when there is no fear of retaliation." A relationship based on fear, however, tends to last longer because sanctions help to hold it in place.

In concluding that given a choice of love or fear, it is more desirable for an administrator to elicit the latter in his followers, Machiavelli (op cit) adds this warning: "One should be careful that fear does not lead to hatred. For [sic] hatred often evokes overt behaviour in terms of retaliation, undermining and attempts to

overthrow." Should this occur, the stability in Polanyi's large groups would quickly turn to instability and the larger the group the more serious the opposition.

Polanyi, like Machiavelli, asserts that fear can take the place of voluntary support in the exercise of power. The type of compliance desired must be a consideration. The kinds of compliance elicited by fear and by voluntary support are qualitatively different. While fear may inspire external, behavioural change, voluntary support tends to inspire internalization often in addition to behavioural compliance. Internalization is viewed as attractive by administrators because it lasts a relatively long time, requires no surveillance and can be carried over into other situations.

Both love and fear are based, in part, upon emotion. Respect is a perception that is more rationally or cognitively based. It is an impression held by one person of another more because of rational or logical reasons than whim. Respect takes time to develop and is therefore more steadfast and lasting than an emotional reaction. Respect is both personally and positionally based, has less chance of turning to hatred than does fear, and inspires deference instead of hidden aversion.

An administrator would be wise to expend his energy and effort cultivating the respect of others, rather than their love or fear of him. Having the respect of organizational members reflects significantly on an administrator's character in the eyes of others. The respect of others can do much to increase and secure an administrator's base of power in the organization.

CHAPTER V

POWER AND THE INDIVIDUAL

As mentioned earlier, the exercise of power may be viewed with respect to four factors: the entities, the process, the outcomes and the social context. In this chapter the power holder is examined with regard to his personal reference to power. The impulse to power is discussed followed by an examination of the concept of the power motive. Finally, the effects of the value theories held by a power holder, on subsequent power patterns exhibited, are considered.

In the organizational setting it is difficult to determine an administrater's personal reference to power. An understanding of an administrator's impulse to power, motive and value pattern can, however, lead to a clearer understanding of power as it is demonstrated in organizations.

The Impulse to Power

Through the process of socialization the average child becomes aware of power as a social phenomenon. According to Wrong (Ibid:3) "Submission to power is ... the earliest and most formative experience in human life." As a child matures and continues to observe and experience both sides of the power relationship, he realizes that an integral feature in the definition of North American society is this ongoing, ever-present interaction.

Early experience of power and responses elicited can influence the leadership style and subsequent power bases that an individual will adopt later in life. Following from this, it is useful to examine why a power holder establishes power.

The first question one might ask here is, 'Who become the power holders?'. Russell (1938:14) proposes that, "Those who most desire power are, broadly speaking, those most likely to acquire it." Here, Russell introduces the approach of actively seeking power. Furthermore, it is the knowledgeable, aware, expectant leader, the one familiar with power, who knows what to look for and when to look for it and how to acquire it.

The power seeking individual often has help in his quest. Russell (op cit) makes an interesting observation: power-loving, he suggests, "...is disguised, among the more timid, as an impulse of submission to leadership, which increases the scope of the power impulses of bold men." Followers by virtue of the fact that they choose to follow, encourage leaders to become leaders.

The next question that might be asked is 'What inspires a leader to lead?'. One reason cited is that an individual wants to make changes and one way to effect change is to be in a position of leadership. Russell maintains that the desire to produce change is the chief motive inspiring this love of power.

In the organization, allege Kahn and Boulding (1964:69), "...power always implicates purpose. Power is motivated; it springs from goals and in turn helps to redefine or shape organizational goals."

Metcalf and Urwick (Ibid:97) introduce another aspect of the impulse to power.

> There are jurists who talk of a 'natural urge' to power, who tell us that the wish to keep a balance of power is such an urge. They say, for instance, that when you feel gratitude, it is the 'urge' to regain an equilibrium which has been destroyed by the favour you have had conferred upon you.

In other words, if someone does individual X a favour he may feel that he has lost some power because he owes that person something. In returning the favour, X restores the balance of power between himself and the other person and is comfortable in that knowledge. An exchange of favours may never again be transacted but X is secure in the knowledge that he has the resources to draw upon should such a transaction reoccur.

The Power Motive

An important element in understanding the impulse to power is understanding the power motive. Winter (1973:17) defines the power motive as "...a disposition to strive for certain kinds of goals, or to be affected by certain kinds of incentives."

The reasons why people seek power are many and varied, but generally there are two motives associated with power. First, the intrinsic value of power can be the primary motivation - the desire to have power for power's sake alone, or for the glory or recognition associated with it. Second, the instrumental value of power may be the chief motivation - the desire to have power in order to use it for some effect. Thus, power is seen by some as a means to achieving an end and by others as an end in itself. A similarity can be drawn between power and money. While some people view power as an instrument for acquiring something, others desire it for its own sake, possibly for the prestige it brings.

The power holder who acquires power for its instrumental value may utilize that power in numerous ways, including in the acquisition of more power. While some power holders seek to utilize and expand their power base, others may utilize only a part of the potential power which they have access to. For this reason Winter (Ibid:16) draws the distinction between "...the scope of potential power, which is often,

though not always, set by the situation, and the inclination to expand and use that power, which may be more closely related to individual motives."

A special case of the evidence of instrumental power is 'the power behind the throne'. These power holders occupy no positions of titular leadership and, therefore, experience no glory classically associated with position. Theirs is strictly an anonymous instrumental exercise of power.

Hall views power as an act - something that is used or exercised. According to Hall (Ibid:131), "Power is meaningless unless it is exercised." The potentiality or latency of power plays an interesting role in the power structure of the individual who desires power merely for its own sake. Because, for that power holder, the value lies in the power held and not in the use of that power, power may be seen as potential or latent because it is not utilized. Mention might be made here of an assertion made by Wrong, discussed earlier in the thesis, that latent or potential power is just as potent as manifest or actual power. Wrong (Ibid:7) explains that both cases of latent and manifest power seem to "...indicate essential attributes of all power relationships. In this sense Robert Bierstedt is entirely correct in maintaining that 'it may seem redundant to say so, but power is always potential'."

The knowledge of holding or having access to power can be sufficient to satisfy the power holder. Power, as an end in itself, can give one a sense of security in knowing the kinds of reactions that one could produce in others. By way of explanation, Metcalf and Urwick (1965:96) suggest that "...there is a universal tendency to produce

reactions in others." Power enables one to elicit reactions in others. These responses may be either submissive or inspired reactions. Loyalty, for example, is often directed to where the power lies simply because the power lies there. Loyalty can encourage feelings of security that may lead to innovative and inspired methods of engaging in the exercise of power.

The recognition of the dispositional in addition to the episodic nature of power then, appears to be of some import. Bierstedt (Wrong, Ibid:21) supports this notion in his assertion, "'Power is the ability to employ force, not its actual employment, the ability to apply sanctions, not their actual application'." In light of this idea, Wrong (Ibid:22) defines power as "...the capacity to produce intended effects, regardless of the physical or psychological facts on which the capacity rests." Thus, the capacity or potentiality is stressed rather than the actual production of effects.

There appears to be another feature of acquiring power without using it. Recognition of even potential power by the power assenter can expand the power holder's scope of power. The individual accepts that the power holder could actualize that potential in a time of need, to achieve some goal; and, that knowledge alone may be sufficient to do so.

Brown (Winter, Ibid:125) suggests that "The victor is ordinarily the animal who puts on the more intimidating show." That is to say, that although "...actual power may be thought of as direct force or energy, most often power exists as a potential force that is only rarely used." The observation and memory of the display of an exercise of

power can be intimidating enough to substitute for the actual use of direct force. Therefore, "...cognitive processes such as symbolic representation and memory are the basis of potential power."

Value Theories and Power Patterns

In addition to motivation as a determinant in power behaviour the value orientation held by an individual may also have an impact upon the way in which power is exercised. Kaplan (Kahn and Boulding, 1964:21) outlines three kinds of value theory and the type of power associated with each.

(1) The Subjectivist Approach:

The values of the subjectivist are grounded in purely personal orientations. Therefore, he tends to personalize the power relationship. He tries to convince others to accept his values and, in that way, get others to do something that he thinks they will like too. Charismatic power is relied upon here.

(2) The Absolutist Approach:

The values of the absolutist are grounded in purely impersonal systems. He is logical and rational and decisions are based not on the "what I want" but on the "what I should" concept. The power used here is coercive - he does not sell himself as the subjectivist does but sells his ideology hoping that others will deduce similar values from it.

(3) The Relativist Approach:

The values of the relativist are objective but grounded in the situation. His approach is contextual and varies from case to case. His base of power is expertness. As Kaplan (op cit) describes,

> For the absolutist, it is simple: you must abandon your values and accept his, because his are right and yours are just dead wrong. For the subjectivist, the resolution of value conflict is quite different. It is a matter of

> horse-trading and back-scratching, since you are entitled to your values just as much as he is entitled to his (which is to say that neither of you really has any title at all).

As in the case of the power motive, discovering the administrator's value orientation can lead to a clearer understanding of the power patterns an administrator will tend to exercise in the organization.

Summary and Discussion

In examining the impulse to power, it was noted that the acquisition of power is more often than not accompanied by a deliberate effort to do so. Many authors hold that the main inspiration in acquiring power is to affect some changes or results. Therefore, although both instrumental and intrinsic values of power act as motives in acquiring power, the instrumental value of power was viewed as the most common motivator.

The potentiality of power is a possible catalyst in bringing about behaviour change, in that the knowledge of potential power can be sufficient in eliciting compliance without actually requiring the employment of power.

Kaplan's value theories were outlined and presented as having an impact on power patterns exhibited. Many factors determine the way in which an administrator will exercise power. The value theory held and the individual's power motive are two of those factors.

In the organization, determining the power motive as an instrumental one, may only be discovering half of the picture. The other half becomes clear when it is determined whether the administrator intends to address his own personal goals or the organizational goals (which may or may not be similar or even condusive to each other), in exercising power. The intentionality of power is examined in a later chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATURE OF POWER BEHAVIOUR

In the preceding chapter, the power motive and value theory were identified as two factors influencing the way in which an administrator exercises power. Perception can also play a very important role in determining the nature of power behaviour, both perceptions of self and perceptions of others. Seven perceptual situations are briefly examined in this chapter, and the way in which they relate to power behaviour. The first five of these are presented in Cartwright's book, Studies in Social Power, and are the results of studies undertaken by various authors. The first deals with the amount of power one perceives himself to hold, the second with the notion of threat, the third with peer group influences, the fourth study with the concept of social adjustment, and the fifth with group perceptions.

Two additional perceptual situations are examined; these are the legitimation of power by the group relevant to the power holder, and a concept described by Kotter as "job-related dependence."

It should be noted here that this chapter is in no way intended to represent the findings of studies undertaken of power in the entire area of social-psychology. In this thesis the interest is in power in organizations as it concerns administrators. An organization is a

social entity and is defined, to a large extent, by many social-psychological characteristics. In view of this assertion, the intention in this chapter is to recognize and reflect the social-psychological component of power behaviour in organizations.

Studies in Social Power

Perceived Power

According to Zander, Cohen and Stotland (Cartwright, 1965:17) power is a function of "perceived relative power" which they define as the amount which an individual (P) believes he can successfully influence another individual (O) minus the amount he believes O can influence him. The basic asumption is that a

> ...person's power relations with members of another group will have important consequences for the perceptions and behaviours he directs toward them, primarily because the amount of power he possesses helps to determine the degree of security he feels when interacting with them. We define security as that state of the individual in which he believes that his professional needs and other more personal needs which are linked to them can or will be satisfied in a given relationship with others.

What Zander et al are proposing is that the more power a person perceives that he has, the more secure he will feel in his interactions with others. An administrator who is aware of this is better equipped to assess his power relationships with others and, from that point, improve his power skills.

Threat

According to Cohen, self-esteem and situation structure are two conditions that are important in determining the degree of threat a person feels when relating to a person of high power (or higher power). Cohen (Ibid:38) defines self-esteem as "...the evaluation that a person places on whatever aspects of his self are relevant to him at a given time. It is dependent upon his success and failure in the past." Structure of the situation is defined (op cit) as the "...degree of clarity of the paths to goals," and "degree of consistency of the power figure's behaviour." "We may define power, for our purposes, as the ability of one party of a relationship to determine whether or not the other party is carried toward his goals or away from them, over and above the second party's own efforts."

Cohen's research findings indicate that the lower the self-esteem of the power assenter, accompanied by unclear goals and perceived inconsistency in power behaviour, then the higher the degree of threat that will be experienced by the individual. Cohen (Ibid:36) defines threat as "...that state of the individual in which he feels inadequate to deal with a given situation and to satisfy his needs."

The feeling of threat may cause a power assenter to either turn against the power holder or withdraw from a relationship completely and seek another means of securing the support that is needed. Any of these reactions could hinder the administrator in undertaking his organizational responsibilities. Recognizing the signs and the factors which could create feelings of threat in subordinates can be a useful management tool in maintaining a power relationship effective for the undertaking of organizational goals.

Peer Group Influences

Stotland (Ibid:54) defines power as "...the authority that one person has to prevent another from reaching his goal." Although some exception is taken to the use of the word "authority" in a definition of power since the two concepts are qualitatively different, it can nevertheless be seen that Stotland is adopting a punitive rather than supportive concept of power. It could even be viewed as a threatening conception of power.

Stotland proposes that with the influence of strong peer support, an individual sometimes tends to attribute this type of power to the power holder. The greater the support of peer groups, the more members will pursue a goal despite obstructiveness of the power figure and the more they will undermine the power figure's power. Stotland (Ibid:66) maintains that "Supportive peer groups serve to heighten persistence toward one's own goals and aggressiveness in the place of a threatening power."

Without peer support, maintains Stotland (Ibid:67), an individual sees the "...power figure much more as a person" and is "more positive in [his] private evaluation of the supervisor's behaviour, attributing more cooperativeness and reasonableness to him." An administrator might consider the "divide and conquer" approach to "them against us" ways of thinking as a tactic in maintaining effective power relationships with groups of subordinates.

Social Adjustment

Rosen (Ibid:80) contends that a person who is maladjusted in his interpersonal skills (has failed to develop adequate perceptual and behavioural skills for dealing with others; deficient in his ability to perceive his relations with others and behaviour appropriately with regard to them) has a reduced capacity for influencing others. In the achievement of goals, this reduced capacity is a major liability, and means a considerable reduction in power.

Results of experiments reported by Rosen (Ibid:80) indicate that individuals who are

> ...better adjusted in previous social environments are more likely, in a new group context, to perceive accurately their own relative power, to perceive accurately the power positions of others, to agree with each other about who holds what position of power in the group, to achieve greater success in influencing other group members, and to be perceived by other group members as having greater power.

The implications regarding administrators in organizations appear to be for the recruitment and selection personnel. In accepting Rosen's findings, social adjustment, according to Rosen's description, could be adopted as one criterion in the selection of administrators.

Group Perceptions

Levinger (Ibid:83) defines social power as the ability (and potentiality) to exert interpersonal influence. Levinger (Ibid:84) describes group perceptions in a new group in the following way:

> In a newly formed group of relative strangers the prospective member has no rank or status...he brings with him merely his individual properties such as his personal characteristics; his knowledge, information and skills; his material possessions; and his social-emotional capacities. These properties may become resources which he can use in his dealings with others.

Levinger defines resource as a property relevant to a group's goalward locomotion. The more a member is perceived as controlling group-relevant resources, the more power he is perceived to possess. For the administrator in the organization the implications are evident. To be perceived as a power holder by his subordinates, an administrator must either gain access to organizational resources or appear to have such access.

Legitimation of Power

The need for legitimation is introduced as a criterion in the effectiveness of the power relationship. Wrong (1979:103) points out that power holders also want to believe that their exercise of power is grounded in some morality.

> The powerful are - usually, at least - neither psychopaths nor ruthless egoists: they have been socialized, they have super-egos. They experience, accordingly, a need to believe that the power they possess is morally justified, that they are servants of a larger collective goal or system of values surpassing mere determination to perpetuate themselves in power, that their exercise of power is not inescapably at odds with hallowed standards of morality.

According to Wrong, Gaetano Mosca (Ibid:104) "...attributes to both rulers and ruled the need to believe that they act - whether in commanding or in obeying - on the basis of a moral principle." People are not content to accept power as an arbitrary whim, whether they be power holders or power assenters. Power must be grounded in some morality to be considered legitimate. Kaplan (Kahn and Boulding, 1964:51) submits that coercive power, when perceived as legitimate, will arouse much less resistance than when it is not perceived as legitimate.

Further on the subject of legitimation, attraction to the supervisor is considered to be an important source of influence. Kaplan (op cit) reports that

> ...the use of coercive power affects attraction adversely. The use of legitimate power also affects attraction, each in its own way. Furthermore, every experiment yet performed on these matters shows that attraction to other people is an important source of influence.

For the administrator in the organization, this means that legitimation of power is important both to himself and to subordinates and could make a difference to administrative effectiveness.

Job-Related Dependence

Kotter's concept of power rests on the idea of the dependence that a manager has upon the other various elements in the organization. He refers to this concept as job-related dependence. Kotter (1979:53) proposes that "The greater the amount of job-related dependence, the more time and energy the manager tends to put into power-oriented behaviour in order to cope with that dependence."

Kotter (Ibid:57) maintains that

> Furthermore, the type of power-oriented behaviour seems to vary systematically with job-related dependence...Specifically, as job-related dependence increases, the relative frequency with which managers engage in the more 'negative' and riskier forms of power-oriented behaviour tends to increase as well.

An example of this form of power might be coercion. Figure 1 (Ibid:65) demonstrates the variation in job-related dependence relative to job factors and organizational contextual factors.

With respect to job-related dependence, Kotter (Ibid:66) suggests that, in addition to the job and the organizational context,

> ...a number of other factors are also relevant, such as the manager's style, the type of people upon whom the manager is dependent, the kind of resources available in the organization, and the climate or tone set by top management.

It is possible that job-related dependence could become a source of frustration for the manager. The management of resources is a key factor in organizational effectiveness and a degree of control is

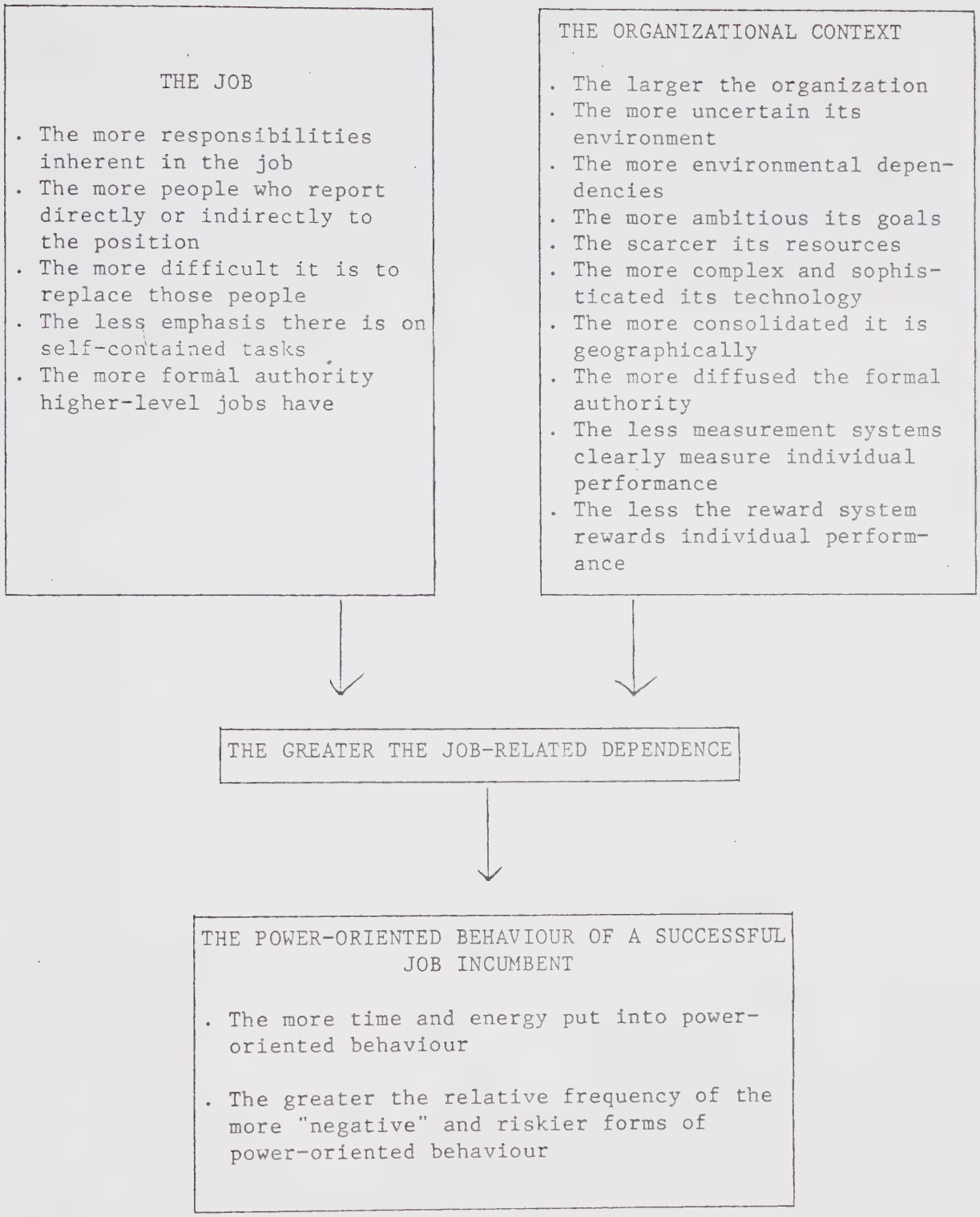


Figure 1: "Relationship between the power-oriented behaviour of an effective manager and key situational contingencies"

necessary in resource management, be the resources human or material. The inevitablity of having to rely on others in the organization decreases a manager's degree of control and can lead to frustration.

An administrator must recognize this function as inherent in the management role, and be able to control the frustration that may result from job-related dependence.

Summary and Discussion

The nature of power behaviour has been examined in the light of seven perceptual contingencies.

The amount of power an administrator perceives himself as having, will in part determine the level of security he experiences in organizational interaction. The level of social adjustment, as defined by Rosen, in addition to the way in which he copes with "job-related dependence", will also influence an administrator's power behaviour.

The perceptions of subordinates will also have some influence on the power behaviour of the administrator. The level of threat experienced by the power assenter in the power relationship can be controlled, to some extent, by the consistency in the power figure's behaviour.

Peer group influences may in turn threaten the control of the power holder if that control is viewed as a punitive measure or a negative influence on the power assenter's goals.

In a new group context, the administrator is obliged to prove himself as power holder. Knowing that the group will perceive him as a power holder if he has control over relevant resources, can aid the administrator in expanding his power base.

Finally, the way in which both the power holder and the power assenters legitimize the power holder's power, will influence the nature of the power behaviour exhibited by the holder. For an administrator to effectively exercise power, both entities in the relationship have a need to feel that the power is grounded in some morality, acceptable to both parties.

Perceptions play a more important role in the nature of power behaviour than is often realized. This may be partly due to the fact that perceptions are not external, measurable behaviours and, therefore, are not as obvious as other factors influencing behaviour. The administrator who is aware of the subtleties of perceptual influences has one more tool at his disposal in determining the nature of power behaviour in the organization.

CHAPTER VII

POWER AND ORGANIZATIONS

The concentration of this thesis is in the area of power as it relates to administrators in organizations. To study social man in isolation would be meaningless. Any individual in North American society may be a member of one or more organizations at any given time. Therefore, in order to understand human behaviour one must have an understanding of organizations.

In this chapter the concept of the organization is examined with respect to its impact on individuals. In addition, the shaping of organizations by their members is also discussed. Both personal and position power are reviewed, followed by a brief examination of different organizational power patterns. Finally, the power holder is discussed in addition to the administrative responsibility that defines his role in the organization.

The Concept of Organization

According to Hall (Ibid:127) "...processes are the dynamics of organizations" and contribute to organizational effectiveness. He (op cit) affirms that "...each process is a critial component for understanding organizations." One of these processes is power. It is in this context that a study of organizations is crucial to an understanding of power.

Cartwright describes the link between power and organizations claiming that there is a need for power to be defined so as to have "unambiguous logical relations" to other concepts in both theories of organizations and of human behaviour. He stresses that, only in this way, can the two kinds of theories be linked together unambiguously.

Dornbusch and Scott (1975:30) define organization as "...a network of social relations which orients and regulates the behaviours of a limited set of individuals in the pursuit of relatively specific goals." Cartwright (March, 1965:1) defines it as "...an arrangement of interdependent parts each having a special function with respect to the whole."

Other authorities consider an organization to be greater than the sum of the parts identified by Cartwright. An organization is seen by some as an organism with a life of its own - a tendency to growth and decay. The organizational wheel continues to turn sometimes in spite of, rather than because of the people in it. It gathers momentum as it goes and often seems to set the pace for its keepers rather than the other way around.

Bertrand Russell (1938:83) maintains that

> Organizations that have a long career of power pass as a rule, through three phases: first, that of fanatical but not traditional belief, leading to conquest; then, that of general acquiescence in the new power, which rapidly becomes traditional; and finally, that in which power, being now used against those who reject tradition, has again become naked.

Russell identifies "naked power" as that power "...likened unto a butcher over a sheep."

Russell (op cit) further distinguishes between traditional and newly acquired or "naked" power by describing traditional power as follows: it has the force of habit on its side; it does not have to continually justify itself; it is almost invariably associated with some religious belief such as the notion of resistance being wicked; and lastly, it can rely on public opinion.

Where there is a change of power structure an individual may also go through similar stages of development. The socialization process, through which all societal members must pass, is a life-long process beginning at birth. Organizations play an important role in this process, different organizations becoming more prevalent at different stages in human development.

According to Bertrand Russell (Ibid:204),

> Organizations, both public and private, affect an individual in two ways. There are those that are designed to facilitate the realization of his own wishes or of what are considered to be his interests [which may not be the same]; and there are those intended to prevent him from thwarting the legitimate interests of others. The distinction is not clear-cut.

Here Russell (op cit) quotes the example of the police who "...exist to further the interests of honest men, as well as to thwart burglars," although their impact on the lives of the latter is much more emphatic than their impact on the lives of the former.

The organizational setting ideally results in a predictable flow of organizational behaviour. Katz and Kahn (1966:199) describe this as "the reduction of human variability." As Cartwright (March, 1965:1) points out,

> The regularity of behaviour and coordinaton of activities are remarkable in view of the heterogeneity of the organization's human elements. Participants vary greatly in ability, training, knowledge, cultural background and needs.

Problems can often arise when an organizational member acts too much like an individual and not enough like an integrated member of the whole. Since predictability and efficiency are important in the organization, and uniformity and consistency of behaviour ensure these organizational characteristics, an individual is not always encouraged to express his creativity or individuality, specifically in terms of output. As Hall (1982:7) points out,

> ...there are limits to the variation possible in organizational characteristics, given the constraints of size, the technology employed, the market conditions, and other environmental factors. Organizations cannot change simply to be more pleasant places in which to work.

Personal and Position Power

Cartwright (Ibid:4) points out that early theories of organizational control "...generally assumed that organizational control is, or should be, exercised by authority vested in designated positions." As early as 1938 Barnard made the distinction between "authority of position" and "authority of leadership," acknowledging that personal ability also carries with it some influence. In 1960 Bass called these concepts "position power" and "personal power."

Etzioni discusses the difference between "position power" and "personal power." Position power, which is defined in this thesis as "legitimized authority," and is identified by French and Raven as "legitimate power," is derived from an organizational office, while "personal power" is described by Etzioni as personal influence. Etzioni (Hersey and Blanchard, 1972:92) postulates that the best position for a leader to be in, is one where he has both personal and position power.

Dornbusch discusses formal and informal power systems, maintaining that the former are more stable than the latter because formal power is attached to relationships between positions and persists despite the particular occupant. Informal power systems, on the other hand, are attached to relationships between participants and change with the individuals. Also, formal power is strengthened by the use of formal, organizational sanctions whereas informal power is not.

Dornbusch (1975:57) similarly points out that authority or position power "is subject to normative constraints" while personal power is not. He also distinguishes between authorized and endorsed power.

Authorized power, Dornbusch maintains, is legitimized from above as is position power, while endorsed power is legitimized by the followers and can be called personal power. One of the basic tenets of the concept of power is that it is recognized by the followers. Therefore unless power is legitimized from below it is not power at all. And as Cartwright (1965:5) maintains, "The authority of a position must be sanctioned by others if it is to possess power."

Efficiency and effectiveness are important in organizations, and it is organizational behaviour that largely determines these concerns. Control over that behaviour might be seen as more necessary than in other areas of society. The organizational mandate of predictability fosters a more structured approach to sanctions regarding behaviour.

Russell (Ibid:37-38) concludes by stressing the imperativeness of legitimation. Although "...the ultimate power of the law is the coercive power of the state ...the law is almost powerless when it is not supported by public sentiment." One of the key elements of power in organizations is the legitimation of power by the organizational members regardless of the type of power which is exercised.

Administrative Responsibility

The way in which administrative responsibility is recognized and executed is important in the evaluation of effectiveness. Shartle (1956:132) maintains that "In terms of leadership performance, effectiveness is judged in terms of what the organization does." Whether an executive is loved or hated, if he is a competent member of the organization, states Shartle, he must be evaluated as effective.

Barnard (Blau and Scott, 1962:165) maintains that the essence of administrative responsibility is the ability to bind the wills of men together for the accomplishment of purposes beyond their immediate ends and beyond their times. The administrator, according to Barnard, must be able to assess organizational needs in relation to long-term situational factors and then rally his resources to anticipate and meet those needs, utilizing sound planning strategy. Power is one tool used in carrying out this responsibility.

Dornbusch (Ibid:51) points out another element of administrative responsibility. The distinguishing feature of administrative responsibility is more than conformance to a complex code of morals but also encompasses the creation of those codes for others. In order to effectively administer this organizational responsibility, the administrator must have a good understanding of the social relations among his subordinates as well as of his own relations with them.

The Power Holder

In examining the nature of the power holder in the organization, Russell (Ibid:42) points out that "...different types of organizations bring different types of individuals to the top." The reverse may also be argued. Different types of leaders create different types of organizations. The nature of the power holder reflects the type of organization to which he belongs.

Russell (Ibid:43) laments that a change has taken place in leaders. "The intellectual, as we know him, is a spiritual descendent of the priest; but the spread of education has robbed him of power." The educated intellectuals of today inspire no awe, are not mysterious, are not glamourous as in the past. Russell (Ibid:44) maintains that there exists no corresponding power among "those who possess the new knowledge" such as science. For Russell power does not lie in deeds or accomplishments but in the personal virtue of the power holder.

Russell (op cit) contends that

> While a typical virtue of a gentleman is honor, that of the man who achieves power through learning is wisdom...To gain a reputation for wisdom a man must seem to have a store of recondite knowledge, a mastery over his passions, and a long experience in the ways of men.

According to Russell, a new type of power holder now exists, an individual who has been produced by the growth in large economic organizations. Russell (Ibid:46) desribes him:

> The typical 'executive' impresses others as a man of rapid decisions, quick insight into character, and iron will; he must have a firm jaw, tightly closed lips, and a habit of brief and incisive speech. He must be able to inspire respect in equals, and confidence in subordinates who are by no means non-entities. He must combine the qualities of a great general and a great diplomat: ruthless in battle, but a capacity for skillful concession in negotiation. It is by such qualities that men acquire control of important economic organizations.

Argyris (1957:125) paints a more technical picture of the competent power holder.

> An important pillar of most management policy is to develop competent executives who among other things (1) are able to "needle", "drive", "sell", "push", "pressure", "persuade", "urge", "coerce", "win" employees to increase productivity loyalty, and interest for the organization and for their job; (2) are able to get all the facts, weigh them correctly, and make effective decisions; (3) know clearly management objectives, policies and practices; (4) communicate these policies and practices clearly to the employees; and (5) evaluate the performance of the employee strictly and honestly according to these policies and practices.

The administrators will largely determine efficiency and effectiveness in the organization. Therefore, recruitment and selection of administrators is a pertinent issue in organizations and criteria used in this selection process are based on the need to achieve certain organizational goals.

Summary and Discussion

The concepts of organization and human behaviour are inextricably linked in the study of power in a social context. Complete definitions of organizations include a human behavioural element. Some authors view organizations as entities unto themselves, as organisms which can grow, stagnate or decay.

The impact of organizations on human lives appears to be almost as great the influence individuals have on organizations. Both influence the others' development.

The dichotomy of "personal and position power", as termed by Etzioni, reflects the dichotomy between "power and authority" in this thesis. Both power and authority, however, are equally subject to legitimation to be effective.

Organizations differ in nature and this difference is reflected both in the nature of the power behaviour which is exercised in that setting and in the nature of the power holders which administer the organization. 'Administrative responsibility in the organization is assessed according to organizational effectiveness or the realization of organizational goals.

The definition of organization has been argued at length by students in all disciplines concerning administrative theory. A popular conclusion is that an organization consists of people and is thereby defined by its members. There appears to be something missing from this definition, however. An organization is more than simply the product of a combination of human efforts. Just as a whole is greater than the sum

of its parts, an organization is an entity unto itself. It is an organism consisting of processes as well as tangible elements. While an organization may originally be created in order to meet some societal need such as the production of some output, the organizational purpose may change over time. Why do some organizations still exist even after the societal need for their output has ceased to do so? It may be because the organizational purpose has become one of self-perpetuation: the organization still exists to exist, and requires no other reason to do so.

CHAPTER VIII

DYNAMICS OF POWER

In reviewing and analysing the concept of power in organizations for administrators, four factors related to the exercise of power have been identified: the entities, the process, the outcomes and the social context. In this chapter, a study of the process is undertaken by exploring the dynamics of power or the forces at work in the field.

In this chapter much of the information discussed in the previous chapters is tied together. The concepts of leadership and influence are considered as they pertain to the exercise of power in organizations. Specifically, power in management is examined in addition to the tactics of acquiring power in controlling human resources. The misuse of power is then discussed, followed by an examination of the concepts of conflict and change in the organizational setting. Although a separate section is devoted to the politics of power, it must be acknowledged that the dynamics of power involve politics in nearly every respect.

Leadership

As discussed earlier in the thesis, an administrator has three areas of responsibility in the organization. One of these responsibilities is management of resources, including manpower. Leadership is a basic skill in effective management. In this respect, leadership may be viewed as an organizational function.

The exercise of power is an important tool in leadership and is inherent in the concept of leadership. As Cartwright (1965:4) claims, "Any theory of leadership which ignores power cannot be viewed...favourably." Kaplan (Kahn and Boulding, 1964:27) asserts that in any organization, "...leadership must be exercised and...this involves the use of power."

An administrator wears many different hats in one day, his functions and roles overlapping and interrelating. Bavelas (Hollander, 1964:204) explains that, "Leadership acts are those which help the group achieve its objectives." Hollander (Ibid:238) cautions that

> Goal attainment by itself [however] is not a sufficient condition for effective leadership. A significant concommitant is the process, the relationship along the way, by which group members are able to fulfill their needs for a meaningful social participation.

According to Hollander, in addition to facilitating the organizational goals, an administrator must also ensure that the subordinates are satisfied that they have input in the translation and direction of those goals.

Kahn (Ibid:29) points out that leadership has been defined as "...the skill of letting other people have your own way." Whether real or apparent, the subordinate must believe that his efforts are being channelled in a direction with which he too agrees.

The impulse to power is reflected in the leader/follower relationship. Russell (Ibid:16) writes that "The power impulse has two forms: explicit, in leaders; implicit, in their followers." Essential to leadership is the responsiveness of the followers and their willingness to comply. Hollander (1964:13) contends that

> ...the maintenance of leadership...requires a regard for the working relationships which are affected by assertions of power [which explains why] ...power is not an instrument of successful leadership in its own right.

Leadership is largely a function of group interaction and is legitimized by group interrelationships. According to French and Snyder leadership is a property of the group and a characteristic of the individual.

In addition to the entities, the social context is another main factor related to leadership. One cannot be a leader in isolation. Hollander (Ibid:14) maintains that "...neither man nor the situation exists independently of the other..." He (Ibid:1) explains that leadership is a relationship between a person exerting influence and those who are influenced, and this relationship is seen within the framework of group process.

Many current theories of leadership deal almost exclusively in terms of personal abilities. Earlier theories approached leadership in a similar way and it is only recently that the distinction has been made

between "leadership as a personal quality," (the trait approach to leadership) and "leadership as an organizational function," (the situational approach to leadership). Using Alex Bavelas' (Ibid:200) words,

> The first refers to a special combination of personal characteristics; the second refers to the distribution throughout an organization of decision-making powers. The first leads us to look at the qualities and abilities of individuals; the second leads us to look at the patterns of power and authority in organizations.

While for many years attempts were made to define leadership abilities in terms of what a leader "should" possess, modern trait research begins from the opposite direction. Carefully designed and administered tests attempt to discover and measure the traits of "leaders." From that analysis a more general leadership theory has been postulated.

Hollander (Ibid:225) points out that "While there may not be 'universal traits' of leadership, it is possible to speak of requisites for effective leadership." The major criticism of the trait approach is that both the characteristics of the individual and the situation influence the degree of leadership behaviour a person exhibits. Winter (1973:13) outlines five situational factors which determine the allocation of power.

(1) certain professional positions are associated with being a leader;

(2) the socio-economic status of individual members and of the group affects the choice of leader and distribution of influence;

(3) personality characteristics of group members;

(4) size and degree of organization of the group;

(5) and nature of task or purpose of the group.

All five factors will influence the outcome of who will emerge as the leader in a given situation.

As Winter (op cit) points out, the effects of these factors are not arbitrary. "All of these variables can be expressed as different bases of power which are allocated according to particular norms and values and perhaps also structural 'laws' of human interaction." There is, then, a certain degree of predictability and consistency between groups even though the individuals involved differ.

The administrator who can recognize the potential for power that exists, understand the situational factors involved and change the situation, can create power. As Winter (Ibid:14) explains,

> Skill in defining situations, in convincing others of these definitions, and in portraying one's own role as important or indispensable to the achievement of these redefined group goals would thus permit a person to have power within the constraints of a situation.

Hersey and Blanchard (1972:94) discuss Bass's distinction between successful and effective leadership or management.

> If A's leader style is not compatible with the expectations of B, and if B is antagonized and does the job only because of A's position power, then we can say that A has been successful but not effective. B has responded as A intended because A has control of rewards and punishment, and not because B sees his own needs being accomplished by satisfying the goals of the manager or the organization.
>
> On the other hand, if A's attempted leadership leads to a successful response, and B does the job because he wants to do it and finds it rewarding, then we consider A as having not only position power but also personal power. B respects A and is willing to cooperate with him, realizing that A's request is

> consistent with his own personal goals. In fact, B sees his own goals as being accomplished by this activity. This is what is meant by effective leadership, keeping in mind that effectiveness also appears as a continuum which can range from very effective to very in-effective.

According to the definitions proposed in this thesis, Bass's "successful leadership" could be viewed as the result of exercising authority while "effective leadership" would be the result of exercising power.

Power in Management

The emphasis of the study of power in organizations in the managerial role of administrators, is addressed by Kotter (1979:9): "...power is a relevant managerial topic because power is always an important variable in complex social systems."

Kotter (1979:9) explains the importance of power to managers, reporting that "Psychologists who have studied managers have said that power is relevant and important because managers tend to have a high 'power motivation'." The need to employ power in the management of human resources is related to this 'power motivation'.

One function of management is the dependence a manager has upon the resources at his disposal to do his own job effectively. Managing this dependence necessitates having control over resources. With reference to the human elements in the organizational structure, Cartwright (Ibid:5) acknowledges that

> The whole organizational structure acquires power over the member and consequently certain other people have power over him, the specific persons depending upon his position in the organization.

Kotter (Ibid:15) describes the managerial role and the need to extend one's power beyond the formal authority inherent in the organizational structure.

> To be able to plan, organize, budget, staff, control, and evaluate, managers need some control over the many people on whom they are dependent. Yet managerial jobs do not automatically provide managers with that control.
>
> Trying to control others solely on the basis of the power associated with one's position simply will not work...because managers are always dependent on some people over whom they have no formal authority and [who] will not passively accept and completely obey a constant stream of orders from someone just because he or she is the "boss".

Kotter is arguing that organizational effectiveness requires more than formal authority for a manager to have the necessary control over his subordinates. The 'power motivation' becomes meaningful here. The distinction between respect for the position and respect for the individual is made more clear.

Kotter (Ibid:16-17) concludes,

> In other words, the primary reason power dynamics emerge and play an important role in organizations is not necessarily because managers are power hungry, or because they want desperately to get ahead, or because there is an interest conflict between managers who have authority and workers who do not. It is because the dependence inherent in managerial jobs is greater that the power or control given to the people in those jobs. Power dynamics, under these circumstances, are inevitable and are needed to make organizations function well.

Kotter (Ibid:88) outlines the importance of adapting to a managerial position.

> Ironically, although the naive and the cynical probably see themselves as at opposite ends of a continuum, they often suffer very similar problems in adapting to new positions and in other aspects of their careers. The one characteristic they have in common - the lack of realistic understanding of power - proves to be more important than their differences.

Kotter (Ibid:97) suggests six guidelines that "would be in the best interest of most managers to follow" regarding power in organizations.

1. Identify your own power skills and abilities.
2. Explicitly take into account power and dependence when planning your career or seeking a job.
3. Before starting a new job, carefully consider what sequence of activities can help you develop the power you will need.
4. If you are less effective at your current job than you desire, check to see if it is a power/dependence problem.
5. If you find yourself in a job whose dependencies are significantly greater than your power skills and you are unable to change the situation without misusing power, GET OUT!
6. Whenever you have the opportunity, try to influence educators and management development personnel to focus more on power and influence.

The formal structure of an organization eliminates many areas of uncertainty. Blau and Scott (1962:175) declare that "Power accrues to those who can control the remaining areas of uncertainty."

The Politics of Power

Power is often connected with the strategic, calculating art of politics. Kaplan (Kahn and Boulding) alleges that the acquisition and exercise of power in every personal relationship is politics. Leavitt and Pondy (1964) also hold that politics is concerned with relationships of control or influence, or power relationships. Administrators then, insofar as they have power and use it, can be called politicians.

There appears to be a certain amount of politics involved in any managerial capacity. To some extent an administrator is required to adapt both leadership style and the forms of power used to the situation and the individuals concerned. Basic to effective leadership is the assessment of a situation and the awareness of others. As Leavitt and Pondy (Ibid:219) point out, the constant monitoring of both organizational and individual change is necessary. "The human being resists being treated as a constant."

Both formal and informal power sources exist and it is wise for the administrator to recognize both. Support staff, for example, may hold little formal authority in the organization but can impede or contribute to an administrator's effectiveness. Both sources of power influence the administrator's base of control and, as Leavitt and Pondy (Ibid:218) remind the reader, "Men can only exercise that power which they are allowed by other men."

An understanding of the political aspects of power dynamics can assist administrators in choosing the right job for them, adapting to that job, understanding organizational behaviour and making effective organizational decisions.

The Tactics of Acquiring Power

Kotter claims that whether they are aware of it or not, all managers attept to acquire power even if it is intuitively; for example, they may not be aware of the methods they use. He (Ibid:26) explains that "Acquiring power means acquiring potential influence - that is the potential for getting others to do what you want or for preventing them from forcing you to do something." One way to acquire power is by securing direct control over tangible resources such as budgets, buildings or equipment. Power over resources usually leads to greater power over subordinates because they recognize the influence associated with resource control.

Another way of gaining power over people is to gain control of useful information (this embraces the concepts of expert and informational power, as already discussed), and of information channels. In his book entitled The Politics of Expertise, Benveniste (1977) stresses the importance of both the formal and informal networks of communication. Russell (1938), too, proposes that the acquisition of power can be accomplished in many ways including the use of communication network's propaganda and education processes. He maintains that news must travel faster than human beings for the communication network to be effective and contribute to one's power source. In this way, communication can be very important to power.

Cartwright (Ibid:7) suggests that "...communication is the mechanism by which interpersonal influence is exerted." Psychologists Festinger and Barnard hold that all communications carry some degree of authoritativeness. An administrator, recognizing this feature of communications, could deliberately give authority to communications and thereby create power.

Winter (Ibid:15) proposes that the position in a communication network is related to power and leadership. Knowing this, an administrator could "size up" the situation and then choose his position so as to maximize his power. Associated with his position in the communication network, the administrator should also be aware that communication is a two-way process, that is, there is value in communications coming from the subordinates as well as in communications going to them. Upward communications can significantly increase an administrator's informational base of power. The lateral direction of power should also be noted here as a method of keeping informed. It is often said that the communication network is the "pulse" of the organization.

Kotter (1979) suggests further ways in which to acquire power. The establishment of relationships, and thus, credibility, is an aid to gaining power. Creating a sense of obligation in people (as already discussed) can help in establishing favourable (to the acquisition of power) relationships. Building a reputation as an expert in certain areas through such means as highly visible achievements, can also help an administrator to gain power.

Encouraging subordinates to identify with the power holder can elicit a charismatic allegiance to him. An individual can relate to the power holder both consciously and unconsciously.

Kotter (Ibid:32) explains that

> People generally need to look up to someone who can make them feel strong and confident despite all the problems that they face, and who can help they feel they are doing something meaningful - especially if their jobs seem trivial or pointless. Managers who can fill these needs can become very powerful.

An administrator can use his organizational dependency to his advantage in acquiring power in relationships by making others believe that he is dependent upon their help and support.

Kotter (Ibid:34-36) outlines a list of "Keys to Success in Power", a few of which are mentioned below.

1. Administrators tend to be very sensitive to where power exists in their organizations.
2. They take calculated risks in which they "invest" some of their power in the hopes of gaining it back with interest.

3. They recognize that all of their actions can affect their power and they avoid actions that will accidentally decrease it.
4. In their career development they try to move both up the hierarchy and toward positions where they can control some strategic contingency for their organization.

It would seem then, that the acquisition of power is planned and plotted. There is little room for random action. The efforts of the successful administrator are consciously directed to the gaining of power.

Control Tactics

Leavitt and Pondy (1964:219-222) outline and explain nine "Tactics of Men Successful in Control."

1. Taking Counsel

 The able administrator "...is cautious about how he seeks and receives advice." He takes counsel only when he asks for it. He makes the decision himself - bows only to good advice and not to pressure.

2. Alliances

 An administrator needs a devoted following and close alliance with other administrators on his level and above, for protection and communication.

 On this topic, Metcalf and Urwick (Ibid:112) caution that some power is relinquished in the act of integration or cooperation. "...when we join with others, we deliberately give up a part of our "power...in order to get certain privileges which will issue from the union."

3. Maneuverability

 An administrator must maintain flexibility and not be committed to one position. He must have a wide range of talents.

4. Communication

 Good channels of communication are important horizontally and both ways vertically. Communication channels are important in determining "who gets what when." Zunin (1972) maintains that in communicative interaction the first four minutes of initial contact are the most significant, because lasting impressions are made during that period. For the aspiring power holder this may be a useful tool in organizational interaction.

5. Compromising

An administrator may have to compromise on (small) means to achieve (large) clear cut goals/ends. "Concessions, then, should be more apparent than real."

6. Negative Timing

When put under inescapable pressure the administrator might have to initiate some action that can retard the process of expedition. Therefore, he is in the process of doing something which he never quite does. The action "dies on the vine."

7. Self-Dramatization

The administrator must acquire the skills of "artistic communication." These skills include the "how" as well as the "what" of communicating. First, he must observe what makes X an effective communication and how it is done. Second, he must practise it.

8. Confidence

He must appear confident. Once an administrator "...has made a decision, he must look and act decided," despite any lack of inner conviction. "Thus, the man who constantly gives the impression of knowing what he is doing - even in he does not - is using his power and increasing it at the same time."

9. Always The Boss

"A thin line of separation between the [power holder] and subordinate must always be maintained." He may be friendly but not so committed as to make objectivity impossible. Adopting an "open-door" policy is acceptable but the question to retain is "how far open?"

The Concept of Influence

Control is attained through influence. In the organization an administrator attempts to influence subordinates in order to establish a base of control. In turn, this base of control can serve the administrator in his influence attempts.

French and Snyder (Cartwright, 1965:119) point out that one basic assumption in the exercise of leadership is that "... attempts to influence others are instrumental acts whose occurrence is determined by the perceived probability of success in achieving some goal." Influence over others is sought for the purpose of goal achievement, human co-operation being but one resource in that process. Leadership ensures human co-operation, through the exercise of power. Herbert Simon (Bell et al, 1969:73) describes this idea: "...influence is the means ...of securing values that are desired." For the administrator in the organization these values consist of the goals of the organization.

Similarly, Hollander (Ibid:225) defines leadership effectiveness as "...an influence process wherein the leader is able to muster willing group support, to achieve certain clearly specified group goals with best advantage to the individuals comprising the group." Here, both the organizational and the member's goals are considered.

In all the definitions above, influence is described in external, behavioural terms. French and Raven approach the concept of influence differently. They (Cartwright, 1965:155) define power in terms of influence and influence in terms of psychological change.

> The internalization of social norms is a related process of decreasing degree of dependence of behaviour on an external O and increasing dependence on an internal value. It is usually assumed that internalization is accompanied by a decrease in the effects of level of observability.

French and Raven stress internal acquiescence to a norm rather than external compliance, as a result of an influence attempt. There are both external and internal responses to influence attempts. Hollander (Ibid:234) identifies three general elements which appear to be a part of all influence relationships:

(1) an influence source with attributes perceived from actual or implied interactions;

(2) some mode of interpersonal activity or other communication;

(3) a recipient (or follower) with personal motivations, perceptions and reference group affiliations.

As discussed in the "Studies in Social Power" chapter, the effectiveness of a leader is determined in part by the group's perception of him. The primacy effect is important here - that is, the first impressions received by the group, of the leader.

French and Synder report that more influence is attempted by a leader when there is: greater acceptance of him by the subordinates; more certainty in his own opinion; and less certainty of the opposing opinion in the subordinate. They also state that the effectiveness of a leader's influence attempt is directly proportional to: the

acceptance of him by the subordinates; the readiness of the subordinate to accept the authority of the leader's role; the perception that he is an expert in the area of the influence attempt; and the amount of influence attempted.

Cartwright discusses influence and control in terms of external rewards and punishments, and motivation. He insists that the difference between internal acceptance and behavioural acquiescence must be recognized. Ideally, an administrator would like to effect both internalization and behavioural compliance in a subordinate, but often must be content with the latter.

In the organization the exercise of leadership, as an attempt to influence members, may be viewed partly as a way of managing human resources toward the achievement of some organizational goal.

The Tactical Use of Power

The exercise of power is a necessary part of effective management. In this section the various aspects of exerting power are examined.

Kotter (Ibid:39) affirms that "...effective managers use power to influence others." March (1967) points out that in deciding whether or not to exert influence a person calculates the cost and expected value. According to March, however, motivations do not tell the whole story in every case. A person influencing another may be consciously exerting power but may also unintentionally influence another.

Kotter makes the distinction between direct and indirect influence. Indirect influence involves the manipulation of another's environment in the attempt to ultimately influence the person himself. This method takes longer to notice the effects. Direct influence is described by Kotter as persuasion of the individual. Time is also a factor here as it takes time to lay the "ground work."

A time constraint may necessitate the use of coercion. Although results are more readily apparent there is a chance of retaliation with this method. Alternatively, persuasion is time-consuming and may be completely ineffective. Kotter (Ibid:44) suggests that "The key to persuasion usually lies in having and knowing how to use information that is relevant to another person's interests and goals."

Cartwright similarly identifies two types of influence which he calls "influence by persuasion," which parallels Kotter's "direct influence," and "influence by ecological control," similar to Kotter's

"indirect influence."

Effective communication and its apparent source (whether it be, for example, credible, weighty or prestigious) determine in part, the effectiveness of influence by persuasion.

According to Cartwright (March, 1965:20), "In principle, O may influence P by ecological control whenever P's behaviour is predictably related to some manipulable feature of P's physical or social environment." Therefore, by modifying an individual's environment, one can influence a person toward a desired change, because, for example, "...attitudes, values and behaviours of individuals are determined by the groups to which they belong."

Cartwright (Ibid:21) identifies five attributes or significant properties of means of influence:

1. Reasons for exerting influence - interpretation of apparent purpose is critical in determining its effectiveness;
2. Exchange relationships - give X to get Y;
3. Contingency in use of a base - "payment is contingent upon compliance with the terms of the contract;
4. Temporal Features - timeline - "X for Y" but when;
5. Change in the distribution of resources - some resources may be "used up" in exerting influence while others may not (it is not always an exchange of resources).

Cartwright (op cit) also outlines seven determinants ascertaining a choice of means or things which will decide how an individual will exert influence:

1. anticipation of the effectiveness of a given means;

2. evaluation of immediate costs;
3. assessment of delayed consequences;
4. general theory of human nature;
5. ethical evaluation of means;
6. position of social structure;
7. legal constraints.

Cartwright calls the reader's attention to the "sleeper effect" influence may have. Immediate, overt compliance may be the initial response but latent changes may also taking place which could influence future responses. An example of the "sleeper effect" is the possible negative side effects of exercised power. People may feel threatened or hostile especially in the case of coercion, and may seek support from others by forming alliances. This cohesive group may form a unified opposition to the power holder.

According to Cartwright (Ibid:38) there are three ways in which influence attempts can be accomplished: exerting new forces on an individual (usually resulting in a higher level of conflict than either of the others); changing the direction of pre-existing forces; and reducing the magnitude of opposing forces. Certain characteristics of individuals can effect the ease of influence attempts; for example, the stronger the subordinate's need for social approval the greater the force that can be activated on his environment to ensure his conformity.

The idea of conformity is a more complex one than may initially appear. Kelman (1953) has undertaken study in the area of conformity, and as Cartwright reports, identifies three types of conformity: compliance, which is an overt response motivated by an extrinsic reward; identification, which is behaviour modelled after someone because one believes in the behaviour or person; and internalization, which is behaviour adopted as one's own and is motivated intrinsically.

Kelman maintains that different types of conformity are evoked by the type of power base used, and the particular existing situational conditions. Compliance is evoked by power based on means control, when under surveillance by the power holder. Identification is evoked by power based on attractiveness, when the relationship to the power holder is salient. Internalization is evoked by power based on credibility, when the content of the attitude is relevant to that of the subordinate.

The three types of conformity identified by Kelman may be seen as hierarchial, on the basis of internalization. Compliance consists merely of going through the motions. Identification involves some degree of rationalization is accompanied by the possibility of becoming internalized. Internalization is the actual adoption of a belief or an idea. The latter is the most desired response to the exercise of power.

The Misuse of Power

There is very little written in the literature on the misuse of power although it is a major factor in organizational effectiveness and pertinent to administrators. Kotter recognizes the importance of giving attention to this topic and deals with it extensively in his book Power in Management. He (1979:67) explores the concept by stating that

> ...in most managerial jobs an inability or unwillingness to acquire and use power results in ineffective performance. Dependence does not get managed, and inevitably under those circumstances, some activities will not be accomplished or will not be achieved efficiently.

The misuse of power occurs when, although individual goals or objectives may be met, the cost to the organization is much greater than the benefit. This misuse is the result of engaging in any power-oriented behaviour that is not in the best interests of the organization, suggests Kotter.

Kotter proposes that there are three factors relevant to the misuse of power: personal integrity, job-related dependence and power skills and abilities. Kotter (Ibid:71) stresses that

> The misuse of power often seems to occur when the dependence inherent in a managerial job is significantly greater that the power skills of the job incumbent, even though the incumbent has previously displayed a moderately high level of personal integrity.

Kotter points out that the critical impact of top management should not be overlooked. He (Ibid:75) explains that "Many cases of power misuse at middle and lower management levels can be traced to other cases of power misuse at the very top of the organizations involved."

Personal integrity could be jeopardized in a situation such as this. If a subordinate is compelled to follow the administrator's directive even against his own better judgement, it is likely that he will sacrifice, to some degree, his personal integrity to do so. According to Kotter, in this respect very complex organizations lend themselves to impossible situations and are in effect unmanageable. A misuse of power is bound to occur because manager dependence is so wide.

Power and responsibility are inextricably linked. Kaplan (Ibid:28) defines leadership as "the locus of responsibility." Responsibility must be claimed for decisions made. Metcalf and Urwick agree that power and responsibility go hand in hand and cannot be divorced. As long as an individual has some power over another human being, there exists an accompanying responsibility not to misuse that power.

A similar view is held in the case of authority. To the administrator who confers authority upon a worker, Metcalf and Urwick (Ibid:110) give the following advice:

> One thing should be borne in mind beyond anything else in the consideration of this subject, and that is that you should never give authority faster than you can develop methods for the worker taking responsibility for that authority.

Power and Conflict

Conflict is an inherent part of the interaction between people and can lead to positive as well as negative outcomes. Kahn (Ibid:4) suggests that "...disagreement over goals and means is typical of human organizations." Kahn also views power as the controlling force of conflict. "Power is essential to the life of the organization, it prevents the emergence of conflicts which would subvert organizational effectiveness." Kahn (Ibid:3) claims that there is a direct correlation between conflict and the need for power: "The more prevalent conflict in an organization becomes, the more keenly will the need for power be felt and the more ardently it will be sought."

Dalton (Blau and Scott, 1972:175) contends that power struggles are important mechanisms of organizational change - "...they provide managers with incentives for making informal innovations which help them cope with operating problems and extend the scope of their influence." Thus, conflict leads to behavioural change in organizations.
While power is necessary to control conflict, it is the essence of conflict which leads to organizational growth. Kahn (Ibid:1) concurs. "Power and the related concepts of control and influence have to do with change."

Kahn (op cit) points out that the reverse is also true and change can lead to conflict. "To say that A has the power to change B's behaviour necessarilly implies that A exerts some force in opposition to some or all of the previously existing forces on B. This is conflict..." In this respect, the exercise of power can create conflict.

Kahn (Ibid:2) asserts that some conflict results from power.

> Power inevitably begets conflict, in some form and in some degree. The expression of that conflict depends in turn on the reciprocal power of the person who is the target of the initial influence attempt.

Therefore, although "The existence of conflict...gives rise to the exercise of power," it is also feasible for the exercise of power to give rise to conflict. Hall (1982:129) cautions his readers to be aware that "Conflict is not the inevitable result of power. Indeed, the outcome of most power acts is compliance, with conflict being the exception rather than the rule."

Power and Change

Resistance to change is an organizational concern because it can pose a major threat to organizational growth. Costello and Zalkind (1963) claim that in resistance to change skill is a minor factor while motivation is a major factor. Change leads to relearning, relearning to frustration, frustration to escape in the form of resistance. Since it is at the learning stage that resistance is generated, in order to overcome resistance to change, an administrator must concentrate his efforts at this level.

The amount of group cohesiveness can greatly influence attitudes toward change, both positively or negatively, because group influence will in part determine those attitudes. Costello and Zalkind caution that harsh autocratic pressure involving threats may not be as effective in inducing change as persuasion and encouragement by the administrator. Threats may even encourage resistance because group cohesiveness would be strengthened.

Exercising power in a group setting can be an effective way to reduce resistance. Costello and Zalkind (Ibid:241) propose that:

> It is possible for management to modify greatly or to remove completely group resistance to changes in methods of work... This change can be accomplished by the use of group meetings in which management effectively communicates the need for change and stimulates group participation in planning the changes...By preventing or greatly modifying resistance to change, this concomitant to change may well be greatly reduced.

Costello and Zalkind admit that eliciting change in behaviour will not necessarilly result in attitude change. In an attempt to influence individual attitudes, the administrator must: first, realize the functions that attitudes serve (Katz provides four categories as a

framework for this inquiry: adjustive, ego-defensive, ego-evaluative, and knowledge-serving); second, consider how attitudes develop (including influences of culture, family, group membership, class, peer group and previour work influences); third, examine basic principlies of attitude change with emphasis on arousing a need to change; and fourth, describe certain conditions for attitude change. Katz (Ibid:275) emphasizes that in order "...for attitude change to occur, the need to change must be aroused."

Kelman (Ibid, p. 287) proposes six processes as means of affecting attitude change:

1. Changing an individual's role which will emphasize both behaviour and attitude change;
2. Using group and interpersonal influences to encourage conformity, enforcing behaviour change through regulation as conditions would facilitate an attitude change either through compliance (influence is accepted hoping to achieve a favourable reaction), identification (behaviour is adopted because it is associated with satisfactions tied in with in the individual's self-image), or internalization, (induced behaviour is intrinsically rewarding);
3. Using the effects of information and communication, keeping in mind the importance of three main factors: the needs of the individual; his personal characteristics, and the credibility (trustworthiness and expertness) of the communicator;
4. Creating situational changes which encourage attitude modification;
5. Utilizing the effects of personal contact to induce favourable attitudes;

6. Encouraging participation which will offer reinforcement for change in both behaviour and attitudes.

French expands on the sixth process, maintaining that to overcome resistance to change an administrator must ensure that the subordinate participates totally in the introduction of the change. Communication is important here both for information and cooperation. The subordinate must believe that he has had some influence on the "jointly-made" decision even if he has not. This approach is termed "psychological participation" as opposed to "actual participation" (real influence on the decision). French (Kahn and Boulding, 1964:38) explains that

> If the workers think they have had the amount of influence on a jointly made decision which is "just and proper" and "norwegian," they will consider it legitimate and will manifest favourable affect, increased motivation and production, improved labor-management relations, and increased satisfaction. If the workers feel that they have had anything less than what they consider right and proper, then the participation would not be legitimate, and the positive effects would not be forthcoming.

In choosing the participative procedure as a power tactic in implementing change, the personalities of the individuals involved must be considered. Some individuals will be more affected by certain procedures than others.

Summary and Discussion

Leadership is one skill in which the exercise of power is utilized in the organization. It is a function of the leader and the follower, and the situational context.

In order to effectively undertake the full range of managerial responsibility in the organization, an administrator must extend his power beyond the formal authority inherent in the organizational structure. Awareness and utilization of the communication network is one method of expanding power.

Influencing subordinates can be done directly or indirectly by manipulating their environment.

The misuse of power can have a significant impact on organizational effectiveness. The responsibility for the proper use of power lies with the power holder.

The exercise of power and the existence of conflict in the organization influence each other reciprocally. Organizational change is an ongoing process partially controllable by power and results both from conflict and in conflict.

The feelings of vulnerability an administrator can experience as a result of his dependency upon organizational resources can have a serious impact upon the power dynamics of that organization. The functions of management that are inherent in that role must be realistically assessed and the use of power addressed to enhance administrative effectiveness. In other words, although an administrator cannot significantly control his dependency upon resources, he can

effectively utilize power to increase his control over those resources and in that way, possibly reduce his feelings of vulnerability. In this respect the exercise of power gives the administrator some degree of independence.

A degree of managerial psychology will most likely be necessary in extending an administrator's base of control. As long as an increase in organizational effectiveness is an administrative goal, the administrator will have to deal with change on a regular basis. Power can play an important role in implementing organizational change.

CHAPTER IX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Discussion

The object of this thesis was to review and analyse the concept of power in organizations as it relates to administrators, by means of a literature review. After examining much of the existing literature, it can be reiterated that the concept of power is indeed an elusive one. In part, this may explain why the most difficult purpose of this thesis was found to be the establishment of a working definition of power.

Through this study a working definition of power has been arrived at. The exercise of power has been described as being related to four factors: (1) the entities involved in the power relationship - in this study, the entities consist of the administrator and the subordinate(s); (2) the process of exercising power - in this study, the power process reflects the administrator's capacity to exercise power, and is a function of the power relationship; (3) the outcome of the exercise of power - in this study, the outcome consists of changes in the subordinate's behaviour and/or attitudes, necessary to facilitate the organizational goals; and (4) the social context within which power is exercized - in this study, the social context is the organizational setting.

The concept of power as reviewed and analyzed in this thesis may be stated as follows: power is the administrator's personal ability to effect change in a subordinate's behaviour and/or attitude, necessary

to the accomplishment of the organizational goals. The administrator's ability or capacity to exercise influence is a function of the relationship between himself and the subordinate, and the exercise of this influence occurs in an organization.

The more significant points of the study are highlighted below.

The definitions of power as reviewed in the literature are many and varied but for the most part appear to address one or more of three characteristics of power: the behavioural response of the power assenter, the relational aspect of power and the concept of power as a capacity to exercise influence. The concept of power is such that one definition of power should be sufficient to describe the exercise of this type of influence in any organizational context.

Many authors maintain a negative concept of power, holding that it is a social evil. This attitude has been cited as one reason for research in the area of power being hindered.

The concept of the power assenter is introduced in this study. The subordinate in the power relationship is viewed as a responsible, aware entity who deliberately chooses to assent to the power of the power holder. This concept of the power assenter influences the nature of the power relationship.

The terms of power are defined by three dimensions: the attributes of power include weight - the amount of influence, domain - the range of persons influenced, the scope - the range of behaviours influenced; the base of power identifies the source of power; and the form of power denotes the way in which influence is exerted. The dimensions of power must be identified in order to derive a complete understanding of power

organizations as it relates to administrators. The form of power, for example, can largely determine the type of compliance that will be elicited.

The two motives associated with power in the literature are: power as an end in itself (this motive reflects the intrinsic value of power); and power as a means to an end (this motive reflects the instrumental value of power). Although much of the literature examines the actual utilization of power in organizations, the impact of potential power can also be considerable. Power does not necessarilly have to be utilized to be influencial - the mere recognition of the power may be sufficient to elicit certain responses.

Non-observable factors can influence the exercise of power and must be considered in an examination of power in organizations as it relates to administrators. Three such factors are identified in the literature review as: the power holder's perceptions of himself and his subordinates in the power relationship; the legitimation of the power by the power assenter; and the manager's job-related dependence on organizational elements in order to carry out his responsibilities effectively.

In an organizational setting two kinds of influence are identified: power, which is a function of the individual or person; and authority, which is a function of the position. Both power and authority require the legitimation of subordinates to be effective. An administrator's primary responsibility is to facilitate the achievement of the organizational goals. All influence attempts must be condusive to the undertaking of this administrative responsibility. The organization as a social context for the exercise of power determines the setting of the power relationship and has a considerable impact on the nature of the

The authority inherent in an administrative position is seldom sufficient for managing the responsibility also inherent in that position. There is a need, therefore, to expand the administrative base of control, in order to facilitate effectively the organizational goals. Organizational effectiveness is determined, in part, by the administrator's skill in exercising power. An administrator's job-related dependence on organizational elements can create feelings of vulnerability and frustration in him. The exercise of power gives the administrator some degree of independence and can assuage feelings of frustration and vulnerability.

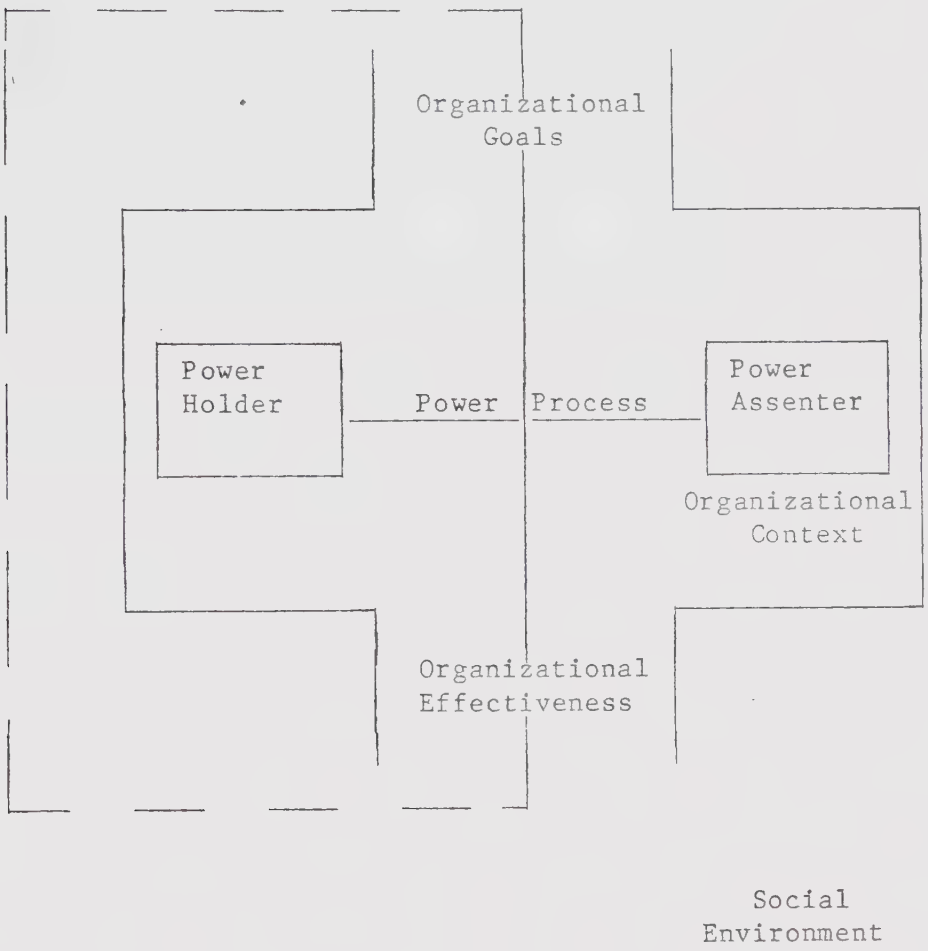
Conclusions

Despite the evidence that power is such a pertinent aspect of organizational effectiveness, it is surprising that so little information on power can be found in the literature of administrative and organizational theory.

Myths surrounding the evil of power must be exploded. There is a need to inform people of the instrumental value of power. Power is merely a tool which can result in socially beneficial outcomes in the hands of responsible persons. It is only then that power skills can begin to be taught as any social skill is taught. There is a demand for the analysis and synthesis of data on power, in order for a compilation of power skills to be taught in a systematic fashion. Much of the educating that is done is the result of solitary pursuit.

The attempt of this study has been to cull out of the existing literature, writings on power relevant to administrators in organizations. A theoretical review and analysis was undertaken of

these writings. The definition which results does not necessarily reflect the concept of power as it exists in the 'real world'. The concept of power embraced in this thesis is illustrated below. This drawing depicts one basic unit in the organizational structure.



Suggestions for further research include viewing this unit as a building block in the formation of a model of power in organizations for administrators. The interaction between similar units could yield a theoretical model as a basis for further theoretical and empirical research in the area of power.

A useful empirical study might be the analysis of the power structure in one organization as it actually exists. This might prove difficult for an "outsider" to undertake may require a participant-observation method of collecting the necessary data. The possibility of researcher bias would be of particular concern in a situation such as this, and would have to be consciously avoided.

In conclusion, Mills (1963:11) maintains that "Men define power; they are not necessarily defined by it." Power is a device, an instrument that has the potential to be used, misused or abused, just like any other tool. The power holder determines how power is defined, whether it is ascribed negative or positive connotations. For the administrator, the responsibility to utilize power to facilitate the organizational goals, is inherent in the acquisition of power in the organization.

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